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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

Our New Island Territory. Five years ago, when the treaty providing for the annexation of Hawaii negotiated under President Harrison's administration was a leading topic of argument and discussion, there were very few men on either side of the question who took the ground that Hawaiian annexation would signify the entrance upon a new era in our political and international history. The controversy at that time was largely of a personal nature. The opposition to Hawaiian annexation afterward shifted its ground from time to time. At length, in the present year, the stand was squarely made upon the line of firm opposition to all territorial expansion on the part of the United States and to all policies looking toward a larger American participation in the affairs of the world in general. It is extremely fortunate that the Hawaiian question should thus finally have been faced and settled upon its true merits. The attempt in the first year of the last administration to destroy the Hawaiian republic and to take up a discredited and untrustworthy personage—neither noble in lineage nor competent to rule—and to replace her upon a tinsel throne, with power to wreck great American interests and with the one bloodthirsty desire to behead magnificent Americans like Dole, Thurston, and Judd, was the most disgraceful chapter in the history of more than a hundred years of American diplomacy. The stain of it can never be wholly wiped out. Happily, however, it has all receded so far into the past that it might have happened in the administration of Martin Van Buren, so far as the issues of this year are concerned. No question of Indiana personal politics has in the end been allowed to affect the destinies of Hawaii.

The Blessings of Delay. The reverses and delays that always at the moment seem so harmful when some just and important cause is pending often prove useful in the end. And so it has been in the case of the Hawaiian Islands.

Their ultimate annexation has not been doubtful to men of broad vision. Meanwhile, it has turned out a fortunate thing that the Hawaiian republic should have had the experiences of the past five years. Opportunity has been found for the careful analysis of all the leading problems that the island community must deal with for a long time to come. The men who are best fitted to exercise public leadership have been brought to the front and have been thoroughly tested. President Dole has been revealed to his fellow-men of Hawaii, to the United States, and to Europe as a man of the highest type and a statesman of great breadth and ability. The administration of this little island republic has been a model of honesty and intelligence. The people have been better off by far than they ever were before. The old personal issues, having to do with the scandalous conspiracy for the reinstatement of "Queen" Liliuokalani, had disappeared. Minister Willis himself had seen the futility of the policy that he had been sent to Honolulu to carry out, and before his death in the islands he had entered upon relations of a very frank and friendly nature with the government to which he was openly accredited, and had abandoned his clandestine negotiations with the ex-queen to whom he had been secretly accredited by the administration at Washington. Congress had most vigorously disavowed and resented the diplomatic policy of duplicity, and there was no longer any danger that our administration might use the navy to destroy the Hawaiian republic.

The Politics of Sugar. Thus the issue was shifted from the claims of the deposed Liliuokalani to the economic aspects of annexation. The new treaty submitted soon after President McKinley entered the White House failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate, solely on account of what we may term the "politics of sugar." The performances of the Sugar Trust are always too subtle, mysterious,

and variable to be understood by the ordinary citizen. A wholly new element of opposition to Hawaii had arisen, however, in the organization of agricultural interests seeking to promote the growth of the sugar-beet throughout the United States. These interests were taught by their leaders that they must strike fierce blows at the cane-sugar industry whenever the opportunity offered. They were therefore brought into the fight against Hawaii, because annexation was supposed to mean the permanent extension of our tariff system to those islands and the free admission of their sugar. It is true that their sugar is now and for many years has been admitted freely. But these special American interests were proposing to secure a repeal of the reciprocity treaty. There is such a thing as carrying zeal beyond the point of discretion or common-sense. The sugar schedule of the Dingley tariff is so arranged as to be peculiarly favorable to the development of the beet-sugar industry of this country; and if under such conditions it cannot develop and hold its own in competition with the sugar brought from the cane-fields of Hawaii or the West Indies, it has not sufficient vitality to deserve any further stimulation. It will, of course, flourish.

How the War Changed the Case. After all, the sugar question was a temporary one—not fit to be the deciding factor in a problem of so much

moment as the expansion of the national domain. It has required the object-lesson of a foreign war to throw all the personal and temporary objections against Hawaiian annexation into the background of relative unimportance, where they properly belonged. The facts of the war have kindled large and generous sentiments and have also broadened the horizon so that men could take a larger view of our national needs and destinies. The attitude of President Dole, his cabinet, and the Hawaiian Congress on the outbreak of our war against Spain was deserving of the admiration it compelled on all hands. There was nothing theatrical about it nor any appearance of playing a part for the sake of exciting American sympathies. Nor was there, on the other hand, any cold bargain or any anxious hesitation. Quietly and without any fuss whatever the Hawaiian Government made itself the ally of the Government of the United States at a moment when such alliance was of immense value and importance to us. Our campaign in the Philippines would have been rendered doubly difficult if the Hawaiian authorities had observed the rules of neutrality. They had been on terms of amity with Spain, and the Spanish crown was represented by a diplomatic officer at Honolulu. Nevertheless, every facility was accorded to our

navy and the army transports to recuperate and take on supplies at Honolulu, and we were accorded as much liberty to make use of the islands for our purposes in the Pacific as we were exercising on our own soil, at Key West or the Tortugas, for our campaign in the Atlantic.

How Congress Responded. To have refused under such circumstances to allow the Hawaiian Islands to enjoy the security that would come

to them from the protection of the American flag would have been something worse than ungracious. To many people it would have seemed a misdeed almost as unworthy of our powerful Government as was the conspiracy of five years ago for the overthrow of the Hawaiian republic. The House of Representatives, which a few months before had been strongly influenced by the beet-sugar argument, promptly rose to the just demands of the more serious situation, and on June 15 passed the Newlands resolution by a vote of 209 to 91. There had always been a clear majority in the Senate in favor of annexation, and this majority had been increased by the new reasons that the war had created; but a small minority, powerless to withstand the sentiment of the country in the end, set themselves by obstruction and filibustering to postpone the vote for as many days or weeks as possible. In view of the serious business upon which the country had entered, it is exceedingly hard to find any excuse for the conduct of these men. They were entitled to a fair opportunity to state the grounds of their opposition. Beyond making such a statement, they were guilty of the offense of taking advantage of the rules of the Senate to obstruct the business of the country at a time of war. Fortunately for their reputations, the gentlemen who were said to have made a compact for unlimited obstruction gave way after they had prevented a vote for nearly three weeks. The termination of a debate that threatened to be endless was due in large part to the great tact and good temper of Senator Davis, Senator Allison, and the majority leaders, who had adopted the tactics of giving the minority all the time they wanted and attributing their opposition to very high and serious motives.

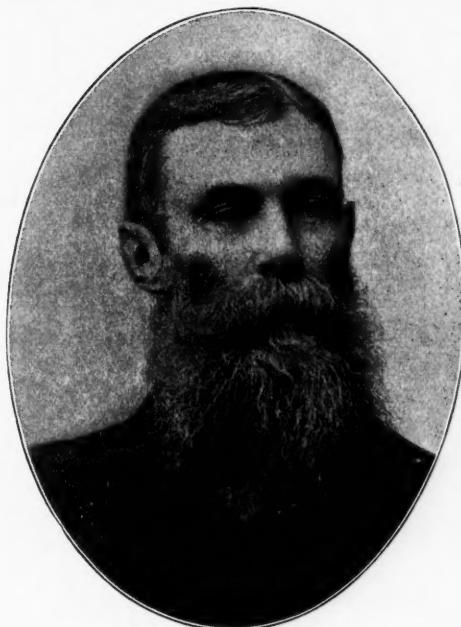
Republicans Mainly for Annexation. The capitulation came on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 6. The number of Senators present was 63, exactly two-thirds of whom voted for annexation and one-third against. If all the Senators had been in their places the majority would apparently have fallen a little short of two-thirds of the body. The only Republican Senator who voted against annexation was Mr. Morrill, of

Vermont, now in his eighty-eighth year and by far the oldest man in active public life at Washington. The views expressed in Mr. Morrill's speeches against annexation were almost purely of the argumentative and theoretical sort; and, with all due respect to this venerable and conscientious New England statesman, they do not seem to have had much relation to practical facts and conditions. Three other Republicans would have voted against annexation if they had not been absent or paired. These were Thurston, Spooner, and Gear, of Iowa.

The 42 affirmative votes included *Not a Proper Party Issue.* several prominent Democrats. It is not going to prove so easy as some of the public men of the Democratic party have seemed to suppose to turn the question of our acquisition of territory into party capital for the purposes of the next Presidential campaign. The annexation of Hawaii is just as much an accomplished fact as the annexation of Texas. And it is not good politics to map out future campaigns in the face of fixed facts and settled issues. It is certainly true that the Democrats, quite as much as the Republicans, urged the Cuban intervention that brought on our war with Spain. It is also certain that a Democratic President would have followed the same lines of policy that President McKinley has pursued since the war drums began to beat. No President—whether he called himself Republican, Democrat, or Populist—could have done otherwise than honor and support the position that Dewey took at Manila after his incomparable victory over the Spanish fleet. That position required the sending of reinforcements. All this made necessary the use of the Hawaiian Islands. From the moment of such use annexation became inevitable.

A Timely Object-Lesson. President McKinley, of course, had always been a strong advocate of Hawaiian annexation, and the Newlands resolution received his approving signature promptly on July 7. Coming precisely as it did, this annexation vote had a significance much greater than a similar vote could have had five years ago. For although at that time many of the advocates of annexation based their arguments upon the necessity of a larger American outlook and a position from which America might in the twentieth century participate with her due share of authority in the affairs, political and commercial, of the Pacific Ocean, it was none the less true that most men looked upon Hawaiian annexation as an isolated topic, and did not think of it as important chiefly by reason of its relation to a new policy of American ex-

pansion, naval power, and commercial progress. Thanks to five years of delay, we have annexed Hawaii, not only with something like unanimity or public approval, but with the generally recognized and frankly avowed fact that this expansion of American sovereignty is only one step in



PRESIDENT SANFORD B. DOLE, OF HAWAII.

(The foremost civilian figure in our new Pacific policy.)

a national policy for which the outburst of enthusiasm throughout the whole land is the most remarkable political sign of recent times in the United States. The opponents of Hawaiian annexation were laughing, to scorn the Admiral Walkers and Captain Mahans who had told us that we needed the Sandwich Islands for strategic and naval purposes. Many volumes would fail to hold all the speeches and articles in which it was shown beyond a doubt that those islands could never under any contingency be of the slightest strategic or naval use to us, but, on the contrary, would prove a colossal burden and probably engulf us in utter ruin. And now the simple facts of current history have refuted all those arguments and silenced all those sneers. For, having failed to acquire the Sandwich Islands, we have been under necessity of using them in violation of international law, because they are indispensable to us in the naval and military operations we have been obliged to carry on in the Pacific Ocean. Not to have had them would have been disastrous.

What Hawaiian Neutrality Would Have Signified. The American people have learned the lesson quickly and taken it to heart deeply. They see the danger and folly of our further ignoring the necessity for outlying posts and coaling stations and for a navy commensurate with our importance as a nation. But for the splendid American loyalty of President Dole and his associates, we should have been plunged into a most dire predicament. For it was assuredly the right, as under ordinary circumstances it would have been the duty, of President Dole to declare neutrality between Spain and the United States. That being the case, we should not have been able to make use of the Hawaiian Islands as a halting-place, coaling station, and source of supplies for our Philippine expedition, unless we had made a show of force and seized Honolulu. Complications, however, would have arisen at once. Our violation of Hawaiian neutrality would have justified President Dole and the Spanish Government alike in a swift appeal to all the powers of the world. And it is by no means unlikely that Germany, Russia, Austria, France, and Italy would have sent warships to Honolulu. Our Government at Washington would have been admonished to respect the right of the independent government of Hawaii—which had been accepted as a sovereign state and accorded a place in the family of nations—to hold the status of impartiality and to obey the international rules that define the duties of neutral governments in time of war. Our position would have been almost equally difficult in logic and in fact; and we should probably have been compelled to recede from it. The train of consequences that would have followed such joint action for the protection of Honolulu can, of course, only be imagined. It is not unreasonable, however, to believe that if the continental powers had thus successfully asserted themselves to prevent our violation of Hawaiian neutrality, they would almost certainly have gone further and protested against Dewey's blockade of Manila.

What We Owe to Mr. Dole. It is true that we might have managed somehow to send an expedition to the Philippines without breaking journey at Honolulu. But the matter would have been rendered vastly more difficult in a dozen different ways, and at least several additional weeks would have been required to embark our forces. Thus the European powers, emboldened by their success in shutting us out of Honolulu, would have found excuse enough for landing marines at Manila and protesting against Dewey's policy in the harbor. They might have made the plausible argument that no adequate land

forces could have arrived within from three and a half to four months after Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet. A little sober reflection must show any man that our whole policy in the present war, so far at least as the Pacific Ocean is concerned, has of necessity turned upon the naval use and control of the Sandwich Islands. The unfriendliness of the last administration might easily have driven Hawaii to seek shelter under a European protectorate. In that case our Philippine expedition would have been useless, if not impossible. President Dole's action, therefore, in throwing neutrality to the winds and welcoming the United States forces has probably availed more than any other one thing since the war opened to keep us out of dangerous complications with the European powers. Since Hawaii had already ratified the annexation treaty, our acceptance in war-time of Hawaii's invaluable hospitality could have involved nothing less in sound morals than the completion on our part of the annexation programme. With all petty acrimonies removed, Hawaiian annexation comes about in a fashion that makes it a spirited and a thoroughly creditable chapter in American history, more picturesque in its circumstances than any preceding annexation that we have made since the treaty of peace with England in 1783, and surely not less honorable than any other.

Population Conditions in Hawaii.

The Sandwich Islands have been the home of a considerable number of American families for a long time. The grandchildren of the American missionaries who transformed the islands are now mature men and women. They send their children to an excellent American college at Honolulu that has been in existence for many years, although it is the custom for young Hawaiian-Americans to obtain at least a part of their educational training in this country. Our race exhibits no sign of deterioration in those islands. The men of the second generation have shown great ability, and the young men of the third generation are worthy of their American ancestry. It is true, of course, that the native Hawaiians and the Chinese and Japanese agricultural laborers constitute the bulk of the population. But the influences that have shaped institutions and given type to the progress and civilization of the islands have been distinctively American. There are by far more people of negro blood than of white in South Carolina; but to say that South Carolina is not an Anglo-Saxon community in the strictest sense is to play with mere verbal fallacies. The welfare of all races in the Sandwich Islands requires that they should be under white control. It is sheer nonsense to talk of obtaining the consent

of the entire population to annexation, if one means to include the great body of coolie, yellow-skinned laborers who are there not as domiciled families, but as indentured visitors, working on the five-year-contract plan, with the prospect of either voluntary or involuntary return to their own homes at the end of the labor period. These laborers have been much better off under President Dole's government than in their own countries. If they have not been allowed to participate in the administration of Hawaii, where they are only sojourners, it is enough to reply that they do not, in fact, participate when at home in the governments of China or Japan. As to the Hawaiian natives, they are—under the present Hawaiian constitution—accorded as much political privilege as they are capable of exercising. Their rights will be far better assured under American oversight than they could possibly be under the government of corrupt and half-barbarous monarchs of their own race, easily swayed by scheming adventurers. Moreover, the race is dying off.

The purpose of government is to accomplish certain practical results for the community at large. The universal extension of suffrage in a country like the United States has not been due to any abstract or metaphysical conception of the inherent rights of individuals, but simply to the fact that our white population has, upon the whole, been in times past so homogeneous that it was deemed reasonable and safe to remove most restrictions and to put the suffrage upon the simple manhood principle. In the South the great mass of negro illiteracy has brought about, in one State after another, a gradual modification of the practice of manhood suffrage. But this has been in order that the original end and object of universal suffrage might not be defeated. All that can reasonably be asked anywhere is that the suffrage be broad enough to include those reasonably well qualified to exercise it. The problem can certainly be worked out in the Sandwich Islands without injustice to any race or element of the population if it is taken up in a practical way.

By virtue of the terms of the annexation resolution, President McKinley has appointed a commission of five men to consider carefully all the questions essential to the adjustment of governmental relations in our new territory. These commissioners will presumably be ready to report to Congress next winter. The board of five commissioners consists of President Dole, of Hawaii, Judge Frear, of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, United States Senators Morgan and Cullom, and Mr. Hitt,



SENATOR CULLOM, OF ILLINOIS.
(Chairman of the Hawaiian commission.)

chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senator Cullom will preside. It is a remarkably well-selected commission. The Hawaiians are represented by two men of the highest qualifications; our House of Representatives is recognized in the appointment of the chairman of its committee that has dealt with the Hawaiian question; and the United States Senate, which shares responsibility with the President in matters of outside relationship, is represented by one Republican and one Democrat. These distinguished gentlemen will be able to recommend promptly such legislative action on the part of Congress as may be necessary to perfect the mechanism of administration under the change of national sovereignty, and meanwhile everything will have gone smoothly under existing Hawaiian laws. There is no dearth of administrative talent in Hawaii; and, happily, the able public men of those islands are almost to a man thoroughly American in all their sentiments and traditions and intimately familiar with our history and government. The Hawaiian territory will therefore come under our general system without any perceptible jar or friction. Its acquisition is one of the great events of this year.

*Our Flag
on the
Ladrones.*

After necessary administrative legislation next winter, which Congress ought to find easy enough when the commissioners have made their report, it will be desirable to take up promptly the question of a submarine cable from our Pacific coast to Hawaii. Surveys have all been made, and the question has had so much consideration in times past that no great delay ought to be experienced in carrying the project to a conclusion. It may well be supposed that Congress will be willing to extend this cable ultimately along the route our ships have taken all the way to Manila. Government ownership of this cable would be better than the private-subsidy plan; but in any case the cable must be laid. For our flag flies not only over the Hawaiian group, but also in the islands known officially as the Marianas and more popularly as the Ladrones. As a part of the wonderful budget of news that made the celebration of July 4, 1898, so memorable—the budget that included the announcement of the destruction of Cervera's fleet—was the notice that the advance guard of our expedition to the Philippines had duly reached Manila Bay and that the cruiser *Charleston* had paused long enough on the way to take formal possession of the Ladrone group and to raise there the American flag. It does not of necessity follow, to be sure, that the islands are thus made permanently a part of the domain of the American people. On the other hand, however, it is very much more likely that the flag will remain than that it will ever be hauled down. The commander of the *Charleston*, Captain Glass, found the Spanish governor and garrison totally unaware that war had broken out. There was nothing for them to do, of course, but to surrender to the *Charleston* and to go on board as prisoners of war. In their place Captain Glass left a small American force, and the Ladrone group has now for several weeks been actually administered in the sovereign name of the United States of America.

*An
Interesting
Group.*

A perfectly direct line drawn from San Francisco to Manila passes through the Ladrone group. Honolulu lies some distance south of that line. Nevertheless, a direct line from Honolulu to Manila also passes through the Ladrone group. The Ladrones extend from north to south in a row 400 or 500 miles long, and are usually said to comprise about twenty islands. They lie directly north of the Caroline group, which it will also be our duty to claim and protect, and they are perhaps 1,500 miles from Manila and 3,500 from Honolulu. They have a population of only 8,000 or 10,000, the natives being akin to those of the

Philippines. They are small islands, but by no means insignificant; for their total area is usually set down as about 1,250 square miles. They are of considerable commercial importance. They have a varied topography, with mountains and valleys and abundant rainfall, and they are extremely productive. Under improved methods of government and agriculture, such as the United States would easily introduce, the already important exports of the Ladrones would be very rapidly increased. They are exceedingly salubrious, and would yield large supplies of products, both of the temperate zone and of the tropics, under American exploitation. A direct cable line to Manila would naturally find a halting-place at San Ignacio de Agana, which is the capital of the islands and is situated on the largest of the group, Guajan, which is of a rounded contour and 30 or 40 miles long.

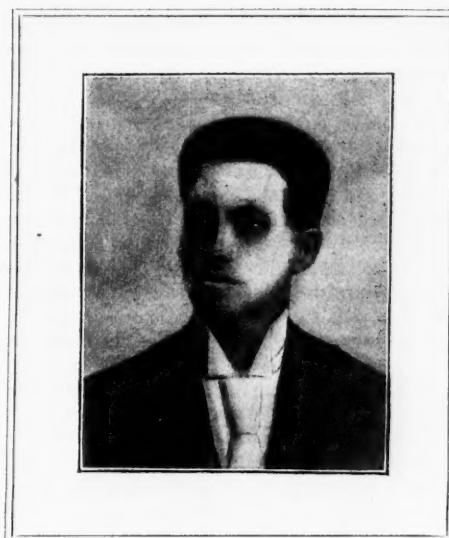
"Put Your
self in His
Place."

As for the question of the political future of the Philippines, it must be remembered that the war is not yet over. Under circumstances like those now existing, no patriot in the White House would stop for many minutes to consider what party he belonged to. He would simply act, in the highest sense, as President McKinley is trying to do, for the honor and lasting benefit of the whole nation. A Democratic President would have no easier sway over unforeseen circumstances than a Republican. We are actually in the Philippines at present because we had to go there. We shall remain there until the time has come when good and sufficient reasons appear for our withdrawal, just as the English will unquestionably remain in Egypt, for the great benefit of the Egyptians and the world at large, until the time comes when it appears the proper and suitable thing for them to evacuate. It may be that the time for England's withdrawal from Egypt is not going to arrive in the near future. And in like manner it may turn out that the work of the United States in the Philippines will require an occupation that neither this administration nor yet the next can wisely terminate; and all this will be independent of the question whether a Republican or a Democrat should be elected President in November, 1900. Mr. Grover Cleveland and Mr. William J. Bryan, who represent the leadership of the antagonistic wings of the Democratic party (both of them, if we mistake not, on the same day), made speeches late in June in dire condemnation of what is called the forward American policy. But it is extremely difficult to see what either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Bryan could have done—if actually in the White House and charged with the responsibility of carrying on the present mo-

mentous undertakings of the country—to avoid precisely the positions that President McKinley has found it necessary to assume. To quote Mr. Cleveland's own famous phrase : "It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us." It is not a question of going forth like a lion seeking whom we may devour, but, in the first place, a question of carrying on with vigor and efficiency a war which Mr. Cleveland himself made inevitable by the doctrines set forth in his famous message on Cuba, and, in the second place, a question of facing the responsibilities that have fallen upon our shoulders as a part of the price of victory.

To thrash the Spaniards is to throw *Some Plain Consequences.* their colonial estates into bankruptcy under circumstances which compel us to assume the receivership. We owe a duty not merely to the native races in the Philippines, but also to all persons of European race or extraction who own property there or have business interests of any sort, including the non-combatant Spanish population on the islands. At present there seems to be no way by which we can make over that responsibility to any other sovereign power. We may not like the task and may think ourselves ill-qualified. But when we cast about for an alternative we are likely to find that the easiest and simplest solution, at least for the immediate future, is for us to exercise sovereignty where Spain has lost it in consequence of our aggressive action. In short, we are at this moment in such an attitude at Manila that we must in any case complete our conquest before we can withdraw, and we have no apologies to make for being in that attitude. When we shall have completed the conquest—presumably within a few days or a few weeks—we shall have to administer the islands until the end of the war and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Spain. We shall conclude no treaty of peace until our victories all along the line have been so complete that we can dictate the terms.

Shall We Let Spain Stay in the Philippines? There must be involved in the conclusion of a treaty with Spain the settlement of the specific question whether or not, having extinguished the Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, we shall choose to reestablish it. We shall then be obliged to consider carefully the fact that our victorious position at Manila had from the beginning been closely bound up with the cause of the Philippine insurgents. We shall have to remember Admiral Dewey's relations with General Aguinaldo. We shall have forced upon our attention the remarkable facts—which will yet come out in far greater detail than they have hitherto been



GENERAL AGUINALDO.

(Leader of the Philippine insurgents.)

presented—of General Aguinaldo's campaign in May, June, and July against the Spanish troops in various parts of the Philippine Islands, and particularly in the vicinity of Manila. We shall not find Aguinaldo and his ambitious fellow-leaders to be the most tractable and delightful of allies, perhaps, but they have much to their credit. Congress and the American people will be likely to take the ground (which the President and the administration are also pretty certain to assume) that when the grand settlement is made at the conclusion of the war our vigorous allies, the Philippine insurgents under Aguinaldo, have very much more title to our consideration than the Spaniards who have robbed and tyrannized over the Philippine population. There is a good deal too much of the spirit of liberty and of true chivalry in the American people to allow the Philippine Islands to be handed back to the Spaniards after all that has happened since the first day of May, when Dewey and his men rose so early but breakfasted so late.

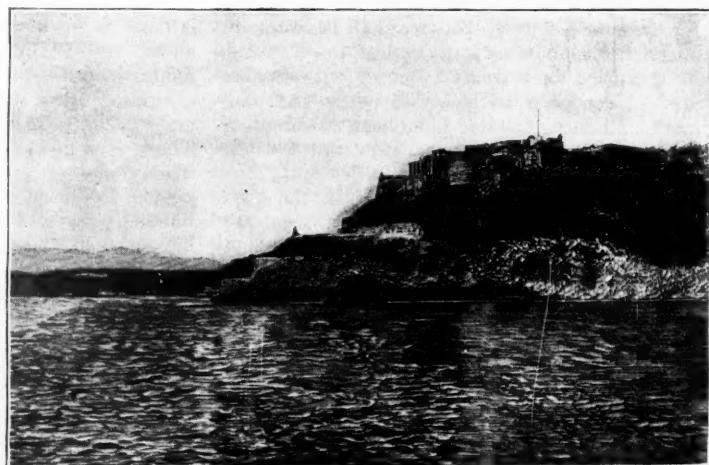
Partisanship Should Keep Hands Off the War Issues. In short, the American people will be inclined to look squarely at all the facts; and they will not find it easy to give either a Republican or a Democratic color to any essential question having to do with our duty and our responsibility in the Philippine Islands. So far as we are aware, nobody in the United States who is in a position to act or to speak with any large measure of influence is

thinking of annexing the Philippines as a part of any gaudy scheme of national glory or cheap "imperial" aggrandizement. It is the plain and simple fact that we are there with some work to do. We must complete that work before we withdraw. And it is the sort of work that cannot be done in a month or a year. It is not for ourselves alone that we shall do it, but for the welfare of all races and all interests in the islands, and incidentally for the benefit and progress of the world at large. The few individuals who are lifting up warning voices to inveigh against the so-called "imperial policy of aggrandizement" are merely attacking their own closet-made man of straw. No part of the country has so quickly appreciated the bearing of the new facts and conditions as the great West. If, therefore, Mr. Bryan's speech on Nebraska Day at the Omaha Exposition was intended, as many of his friends have said, as a bright and early announcement of the issues upon which he would like to enter the race for the White House in 1900, we must express the opinion that he would better have stayed on the deck of his 16-to-1 free-silver-coinage craft, rather than have engaged passage on a ship so certain to founder as that of opposition to our performing those inevitable tasks for humanity that must result from our stripping Spain of her colonial empire. Partisanship is not always the duty of the hour. Congress, with absolute unanimity, supported Cleveland at the time of the Venezuela boundary crisis. And again, with small regard for party lines, Congress has supported President McKinley ever since the outbreak of the Cuban war. Mere party talk—nine-tenths of which in any case is cant and humbug—can afford to wait. There is no more sense just now in making a party issue over the question what we shall do with the Philippines than in trying to make party capital one way or the other out of the heroic exploits of our navy and our army.

Spain Now Cut Off from Cuba. The month which our record includes has witnessed the completion of the most important part of the work which—as explained in these pages last month—had been mapped out by the authorities at Washington as constituting the plan of their campaign

against the Spaniards. The fleet of Admiral Cervera was the principal factor in Spain's ability to carry on a protracted war against the United States. With this fleet removed, Spain's colonial possessions were beyond her reach. For purposes of warfare, the lack of a navy made Cuba as remote from Spain as the planet Jupiter. It is a singular fact that with all the wire-cutting and organized work on the part of our Government to stop telegraphic communication, the Spaniards never through the whole campaign seemed for a moment to experience any difficulty in cabling back and forth from Madrid to Santiago, as well as to Havana and Porto Rico. This was true up to Saturday, July 16, after the completion of the Santiago campaign, when by sheer accident, according to reports, the battleship *Indiana* found the cable (from Santiago to Europe by way of Jamaica) through its entanglement with an anchor. This, it is understood, will have deprived General Blanco, at Havana, of the only line which had remained available for his communications with Spain. He will have been obliged since that date to rely upon the ingenuity of his agents and spies in smuggling communications through the line of the blockading fleet to some neutral cable office in the English, Dutch, or French West Indies.

The Mischief Wrought by the Cable. This final severance of direct cable communication, while not affecting the Santiago situation, will have an important bearing upon the position of General Blanco and his forces at Havana. Even though the Spanish Government at Madrid was as little



MORRO CASTLE AT ENTRANCE TO SANTIAGO HARBOR.
(A sixteenth-century building now in possession of the United States.)

able to render any direct assistance to General Blanco as if he were on some other planet, nevertheless, so long as it could communicate freely with him by telegraph it was able to exercise a moral control over him. It has naturally suited the purpose of the Madrid government to have the army in Cuba maintain its hopeless resistance as long as possible. If the Santiago cable could



SEÑOR SAGASTA.

have been cut in the early days of June, when Commodore Schley bottled up Cervera's fleet in Santiago harbor, it is wholly probable that the eastern end of Cuba could have been conquered without the great loss of life that resulted from the bloody conflicts of July 1 and 2, while it is also probable that we should have secured Cervera's ships by surrender and added them to our navy. But Admiral Cervera and Generals Liñares and Toral were, unhappily for themselves, obliged to receive daily cablegrams from Madrid; and they were not prepared to accept the responsibility of disobeying orders. It would have been better for them and their men if they had themselves cut the cable wires in order to be relieved of the necessity of giving any attention whatever to instructions from the helpless and distracted cabinet of the home country. General Toral's stubborn resistance when nothing was to be gained by it and Admiral Cervera's fatal dash out of the harbor on July 3 were wholly due, so far as present information goes, to positive orders from Madrid. Naturally the politicians in Spain, knowing perfectly well that Cuba is forever lost, are thinking only of their own situation, and have not been dealing with the Cuban question in the interest either of Spanish civilians or Spanish soldiers actually on Cuban soil. In

short, the Madrid leaders look upon Cuba as virtually thrown to the wolves, and are merely hoping that it may detain the wolves long enough to permit their own escape.

Spain's Fatal Stubbornness. This policy can do Spain no good in the end. Every week of futile and stubborn resistance that adds to the great volume of expense incurred by the United States in the prosecution of the war must change somewhat the conditions upon which the United States can afford to make peace. Already the experiences and circumstances of the war have involved the whole of Spain's colonial empire. Without a navy and without the means of creating one, Spain has become totally incapable of maintaining distant possessions in any responsible manner. Even if the United States should make peace at this stage and leave the Philippines and Porto Rico nominally in Spain's hands, the Philippine insurgents would have to be reckoned with, and they could not be easily conquered. Moreover, it would not be easy for Spain even to maintain herself against the insurrectionary mood of the Porto Ricans. Viewed from every standpoint, Spain has made necessary the total relinquishment of her colonial pretensions. Unfortunately, there did not seem to be a single man in Spain, even after the conclusion of the Santiago campaign, who was able to entertain this idea. The Sagasta government went so far as to announce that it could only consider peace negotiations on the basis of the retention by Spain of all her former possessions excepting Cuba alone, and that the Cuban question would have to be decided by a popular vote in Cuba as between the alternatives of independence and autonomy under the Spanish flag.

Off for Porto Rico. The capitulation of Santiago was, in fact, a signal, not for peace negotiations, but for the more rapid and vigorous prosecution of our previously arranged plan of campaign. The way was now clear for the expedition to Porto Rico on the one hand, and, on the other, for the naval adventure under Commodore Watson's leadership across the Atlantic to the neighborhood of the Spanish coast. The President and his Cabinet, fortunately, were of the opinion that the shortest and safest way to a conclusion of the war was to push it all along the line. Consequently, while the surrender at Santiago was still the theme of great rejoicing throughout the United States, General Brooke, who had been designated as an active leader of the military forces that were to invade Porto Rico, was in conference with the President and the official group at Washington, making all arrangements

for embarking if possible by about July 20. General Miles, meantime, was actually embarking from the Santiago neighborhood with an advance guard of several thousand men. He sailed on the 20th. It was hoped that the campaign in Porto Rico would prove easy, healthful, and almost free from fighting.

Some Chapters of Naval and War History. Commodore Watson, on his part, was busily preparing his fleet for the thrilling episode of a voyage across the Atlantic. Meanwhile the successive installments of the Philippine expedition were gradually approaching their destination, greatly to the relief of Admiral Dewey and his plucky comrades. We are glad to be able to give to our readers this month from highly competent pens several chapters of war history that will be thankfully read by many who find themselves somewhat confused by reason of the amplitude and the overlapping of the newspaper accounts. Mr. John A. Church, formerly editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, a military writer of great experience and authoritative knowledge, has summed up for us the Santiago campaign as conducted on land under the leadership of General Shafter. Mr. Winston Churchill, himself a graduate of the Naval Academy, and, as our readers will remember, the author of our character sketch of Admiral Dewey two months ago, has told in a most graphic way the story of the marvelous naval fight which resulted in the complete destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet on July 3. Mr. Park Benjamin, a widely read au-



Photo by Steffens.

MAJ.-GEN. JOHN R. BROOKE, U. S. A.
(Who goes to Porto Rico with General Miles.)

thority on naval matters, tells us about Commodore Watson and his projected expedition to the coast of Spain. It is possible, of course, that in the period while this number of the REVIEW is running through the presses something may have happened to change the Watson programme. But as it now appears the Watson expedition will have set sail before August 1. In any case, the fact of its being definitely planned will have made the project a part of the naval history of our war with Spain.

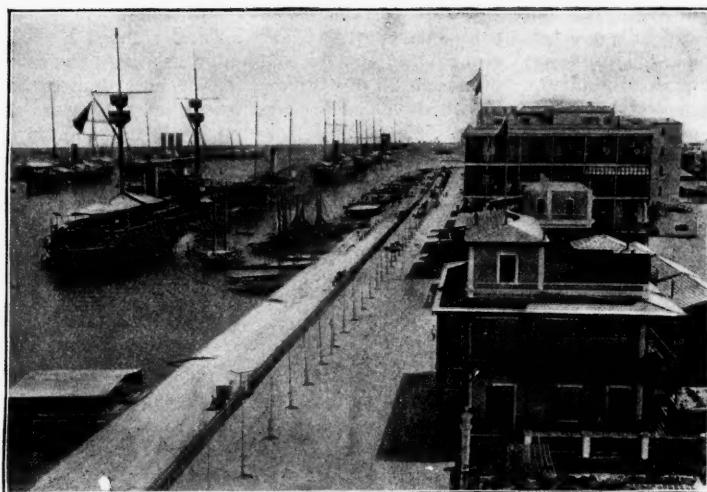


"AN AFRICAN ON THE COAL PILE."

(Apropos of Camara's failure to secure a coal supply at Port Said.)—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

For the very announcement of the prospective Watson expedition had, by July 20, done more to stir up

public sentiment in Spain to a realizing sense of the inconvenience of being at war with a powerful foreign nation than the destruction of two fleets, the surrender of an army, and the loss of the easternmost part of Cuba. It had the further effect of bringing back to Spanish harbors the sole surviving group of warships flying the Spanish flag, which had actually passed through the Suez Canal on July 6. Camara's fleet had nominally set forth for the Philippines. The battleship *Pelayo* and another ship, the *Emperador Carlos V.*, were reported as in fairly good



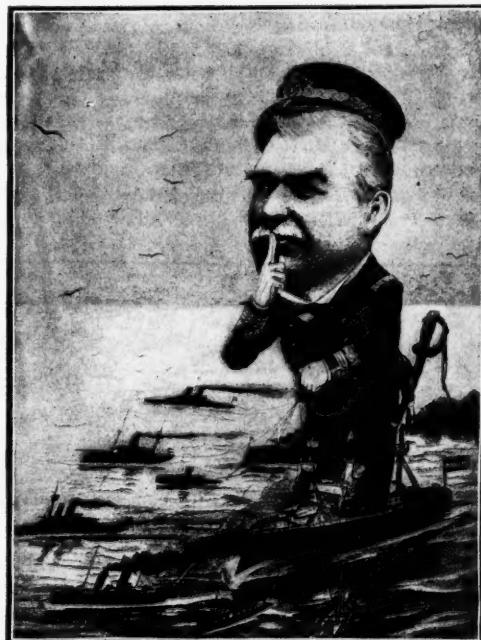
THE SPANISH SQUADRON AS PHOTOGRAPHED AT PORT SAID.

condition, while the half dozen other vessels of the squadron were regarded as ineffective. How this fortuitous concourse of ships—some of them obsolete and others hopelessly ineffective either in machinery or in armament—could ever in war-time have made their way safely to the Philippines is not easily conjectured. If they had arrived there, Dewey's fleet would have sent them inevitably to join Montojo's squadron at the bottom of the bay. Even without reënforcements Dewey could have given a brilliant account of himself. But it is to be remembered that the monitors *Monterey* and *Monckton* were due to arrive at Manila on or before August 1, not to mention the presence of less formidable reënforcements like the cruiser *Charleston*. The Spanish Government, when Camara was ordered to pay the canal tolls and pass through the Suez Canal, was perfectly aware that the *Charleston* had already reached Manila and that the formidable monitors—which, once in position off Cavite, were capable by themselves of defending Manila against the Spanish fleet—were due long before Camara could have completed the voyage. It is hard to believe, therefore, that there was ever any serious intention to send him to the Philippines.

Was Camara aiming at San Francisco? It is quite possible to suppose, as was frequently rumored, that Camara's real purpose was to surprise Honolulu, take on coal and supplies, and then make an assault on our Pacific coast, bombarding San Francisco at a time when we were without a warship of any consequence upon our entire Pacific seaboard. Some time we shall probably know

what the Spaniards had really hoped to accomplish by the movements of Cervera's and Camara's fleets. At present both topics are involved in deep mystery. If this surviving squadron of Camara's had been in prime sailing and fighting condition, it is hard to see how we could have prevented it from seizing Honolulu and striking San Francisco. The government at Madrid had evidently counted a good deal upon the possibility of Cervera's escape from the neck of the Santiago bottle. As every one has since found out, the brilliant exploit of Hobson and his comrades in sinking the *Merrimac* had not, in fact, completely ob-

structed the Santiago channel. It had not been futile, for it would still seem that Spaniards and Americans both had for a time regarded the hulk as an impassable obstacle. Subsequently the Spaniards had discovered that the *Merrimac*



ADMIRAL CAMARA SETTING FORTH ON HIS MYSTERIOUS VOYAGE.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

lay a little to one side of the center of the narrow channel, and that a single ship carefully piloted could make its way past the wreck. This news was undoubtedly sent by cable cipher to Madrid, where it was also doubtless supposed that the Americans were still laboring under the impression that Hobson had firmly sealed up the passage. The Spanish programme then called for a bold dash past the *Merrimac* and out of the mouth of the harbor at some favoring hour when the American squadron seemed less completely on guard than usual. If the squadron had escaped, it might at least have kept Sampson and Schley occupied with a baffling chase for some time to come. This would have postponed indefinitely the Watson expedition to the Spanish coast, and might have covered Camara's plans against San Francisco. The destruction of Cervera's ships, however, under the most fearful cannonading ever known in the history of naval warfare, altered the situation. It made possible the definite announcement of the expedition to Spain, with the consequence of Camara's recall through the Suez Canal and the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, back to the home shores. Commodore Watson will naturally be ambitious to find Camara and his fleet, although it is hardly conceivable that the Spaniards should give an American navy the opportunity to destroy their third and only remaining squadron.

The Santiago Surrender. Since the war was begun for the purpose of accomplishing the Spanish evacuation of Cuba, there is an air of keeping hold upon the main thread of the controversy in that part of the terms of capitulation at Santiago which provides that the United States shall give the surrendered Spanish troops prompt

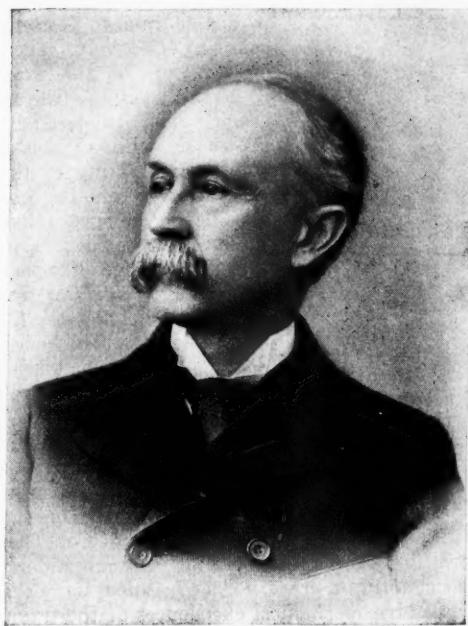
and free passage back to Cadiz or some other peninsular port. General Toral informed General Shafter that his surrender embraced an army of about 25,000 officers and men, besides the so-called volunteers and guerrillas who were a part of the Spanish population of Cuba and were not to be transported to Spain. Of this body of 25,000 Spanish soldiers about half were under General Toral's immediate command in the lines of Spanish defense at the town of Santiago, while the remaining half were at Guantanamo and other garrisoned points in the portion of Santiago province included in the terms of surrender. That section of the province is the extreme easternmost tip of the island beyond a line projected from Sagua de Tanamo on the north coast to Acerraderos on the south, and is about 5,000 square miles in extent. The whole world agrees that General Toral and his Spanish troops had fought with great bravery. When General Shafter, upon the conclusion of the terms of surrender, made his first visit of inspection into the city he was astonished at the intricacy and the extent of the defensive works, including trenches, street barricades almost innumerable, barbed-wire fences, and other military constructions intended to retard the expected attempt on the part of the Americans to capture Santiago by assault. General Shafter declared that it would have cost the lives of five thousand men to have surmounted these obstacles and to have captured the city.

Fighting Cuban Fevers.

To have waited longer, while starvation and the lack of water (the supply having been diverted by the American troops) were reducing Santiago, would, on the other hand, have subjected our army to an enormous loss of life through fevers and all



MAP SHOWING THE SECTION OF CUBA SURRENDERED TO THE UNITED STATES.



SURGEON-GENERAL STERNBERG, U. S. A.

sorts of camp diseases. The season of heavy rainfall had set in, and for a number of days our men were working in trenches or rifle-pits that had been flooded by torrential precipitation. Furthermore, there was rapidly spreading through the lines at the front a very suspicious form of fever. The doctors at first refused to pronounce it the much-dreaded "yellow jack," but it was obvious that they were disposed to deal with it as if it were indeed the most malignant type of yellow fever. Afterward it became known that they regarded it in fact as yellow fever in a mild form. The surgeons feared greatly for the final results if the army could not be promptly taken out of its long line of semi-circular intrenchments sweeping about the town of Santiago and placed in camps on high land under favorable conditions. The surrender of General Toral made all this possible before the fever had cost a considerable number of deaths. We are fortunate in having, in the person of the surgeon-general of the army, Dr. Sternberg, one of the highest authorities in the world upon the treatment and management of yellow fever. It was almost inevitable that in the prosecution of a Cuban campaign our troops should to some extent have become infected with the scourge that has so often in times past made destructive visits to our mainland from its pestilential abodes along the Cuban coast. We shall find our most important compensation for the cost of this war in re-

ducing the Cuban ports to a sanitary condition which shall make our own country exempt henceforth from imported febrile epidemics.

Future Movements of the Two Santiago Armies. Admiral Cervera and the principal officers of the Spanish navy were brought to the United States, where at the Annapolis Naval Academy they were almost immediately accorded full liberty on parole. The ceremony of raising the American flag over the governor's palace at Santiago occurred at noon on Sunday, July 17. The preliminary negotiations had been conducted by General Shafter in a manner highly creditable to his character as a soldier and a man. The Spanish officers were treated with delicacy and consideration, and the transfer of sovereign authority at Santiago was accomplished in a most dignified fashion. It was expected that General Shafter would remain in Santiago province with the great body of his troops, healthfully encamped upon high ground, where they would be ready for a gradual movement westward, in pursuance of the further Cuban campaign. The plan of sending the 25,000 surrendered Spaniards back to Spain, though at first it seemed to some people a needless concession, came within a few days to be understood throughout the United States as an extremely felicitous part of the bargain. In Spain, on parole, the men could do us no possible harm. Since the Spaniards do not hold any appreciable number of American prisoners, we could not have gotten rid of these soldiers by the process of exchange. To have transported them to the United States and fed them, in durance, until the end of the war, would have involved very much greater expense and trouble than to send them home at the outset. There are certain political and national elements in Spain that would doubtless prefer not to have these men introduced as another factor of uncertainty into the ominous situation at home. For that reason it is not impossible that they will be sent by the Spanish Government into the camps of the Canaries or the Balearic Islands. A large part of Spain's home forces has already been transported to those island barracks and encampments.

American Courage Vindicated.

The military side of the Santiago campaign will for a long time furnish a theme for controversial discussion among the military critics. It is not for us to say whether or not there was too much precipitancy in General Shafter's aggressive movements of July 1 and 2. It has tempered our exultation over the victory to remember, as we constantly must, how deadly was the conflict, what fearful risks our men unflinchingly assumed, and how



A SPANISH CAMP IN THE CANARIES.

many valuable lives were sacrificed. About one aspect of the Santiago campaign, however, there will be unanimity. Greater personal courage has never been exhibited in warfare than our troops—both the regulars and the volunteers—showed to the full extent of their opportunity for display of valor. The Spaniards fought magnificently; but our men, as the aggressors, charging up steep inclines against a sheltered and intrenched enemy, were the ones whose qualities were put to the full test. There were plenty of men on foot at Santiago, privates as well as officers, who showed that same sort of high spirit that Hobson had shown some days before by his brave act in the harbor. Europe had quite generally believed that Americans were traders and money-makers and that they were not fighters. The governments and the military authorities of Europe have taken note of Santiago and revised their opinions. Europe had also supposed that with drill under good officers and with the latest patterns of small arms and equipment almost any sort of human cattle would do very well in the ranks as food for bullets. This Santiago experience now serves to remind the whole world that the conditions of modern warfare may not, after all, be so different as had been supposed from the conditions of earlier times, where the individual man was of some account.

*Our Troops
Man for
Man.*

American life and freedom, more than that of any other country, have developed the individual sense of responsibility. Thus it happens that there are plenty of companies of American volunteers now in the field, almost any member of which might within a few weeks or months gain experience enough

to enable him to lead the company effectively. Of no other troops in the world could this be said. The average young American has grown up with a habit of thinking and acting for himself; and when he goes a-soldiering he is capable of throwing as much personal zeal into charges like those at Santiago as if he were fighting a duel and the fate of his country and all he held dear depended upon his personal exploits. The well-drilled troops of European countries are formidable enough, certainly. But there are resources of intense personality in such

men, as, for instance, the members of Col. Theodore Roosevelt's regiment of "Rough Riders," that count, in a crisis, for a great deal more than the passive mechanical excellences of the trained soldiery of the military powers. If necessary for the defense of the nation, President McKinley could upon a few weeks' notice put into the field two million young Americans, characterized in general by the pluck, the dash, the familiarity from childhood with a gun and a horse, the quick American adaptability, and the intense patriotism that we have discovered in the regiments that fought at Santiago.

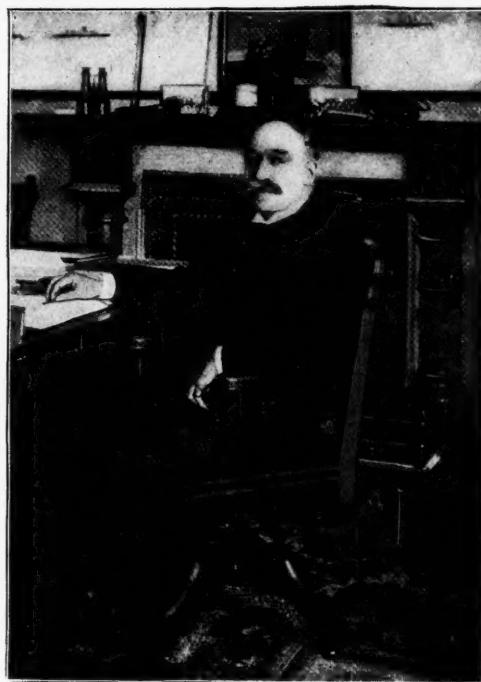
*The Raw
Material
for Soldiers.*

It is not boasting, but the sober truth, to say that no other nation possesses in the great mass of its population any such large percentage of splendid fighting material. Great Britain has in her young men of the higher classes from whom she draws her officers as brave and capable an element as can be found in the world. But her farm laborers are no more to be compared with the sons of American farmers than with an Australian football team. Nor are the young men of her industrial centers—Manchester, Sheffield, and the rest—in any manner equal to the young men of American towns in physical development or in personal initiative and adaptability. There is something, of course, in the life of young countries that develops individual force; and the qualities which give superiority to American soldiers would be found in like manner, undoubtedly, in Canada or Australia if the young men of those freedom-loving lands were engaged in a foreign war. It is on some accounts to be regretted that President McKinley has not seized

the present opportunity to give at least a half million young Americans the opportunity to enlist and go into camp. To be sure, it is not likely that their services would be needed at the front. But a few weeks of hard drilling in healthful camps in their home States would fit them for any emergency that might arise. They would form a great reserve force ready to respond quickly at any time within the next ten or fifteen years if their country should need to take up arms.

*Germany
Needs
a Lesson.* The object-lesson, moreover, would be salutary in certain European quarters. There has been some reason to

fear that although the European powers were not likely to disturb us while the war was pending, they might attempt to interfere in the settlements to be made at the end of the war in a way very repugnant to American pride. If President McKinley had utilized this period of actual warfare for raising a much larger volunteer army than he has yet called to the ranks, the additional expense might have been a good investment considered as an insurance premium against possible European meddling. The Germans have certainly been acting in a most disagreeable manner in the Philippines. A less cool and clear-headed man than Admiral Dewey might have been embarrassed beyond his ability to maintain himself by the behavior of Admiral Diedrichs and the German warships under his command in the Philippine vicinity. Admiral Dewey, however, has been at once patient, tactful, and firm as



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.
(From his latest photograph.)

steel. The Germans are apparently anxious to avoid any act that would bring them into conflict with the United States, while engaged in constant intrigues with a view to gaining some points for themselves. The Spaniards will soon have to learn, if they have not already found it out, that they have nothing to gain from encouraging this German meddlesomeness, and that, on the contrary, they are likely to be punished the more severely in the end for all such outside interferences. Fortunately, a perfect understanding has existed all along between Admiral Dewey and the officers of English ships in Chinese and Philippine waters, and every move in the German game of intrigue only makes more likely some far-reaching Anglo-American plans in the Pacific that will not serve to promote Germany's colonial ambitions.



GERMANY IS KEEPING HIS EYE ON UNCLE SAM.

But there is another fellow keeping his eye on Germany.—
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

An Intriguing Government. Germany is a great nation, with mar-
velously expanding industries and
with a people whose colonizing ability
has been amply demonstrated. Millions upon
millions of Germans have come to the United
States, to the enduring benefit of this country.
America wishes the German people all prosperity
and looks upon them as destined to play a great

part in the new tasks of developing and civilizing the world. There ought to be nothing but friendship and good understanding between Germany and the United States. Unfortunately, the German Government does not fairly represent the German people; and that government is becoming a dangerous factor in international affairs through its persistent and unscrupulous meddling, with or without a pretext, on every possible occasion. Its intrigues helped to defraud Japan of the full fruits of the victory over the Chinese. German intrigue, again, armed and guided the villainous Turks in their campaign against the Greeks. German intrigue having thwarted attempts to save the Armenians, threw the Cretans to the wolves. German intrigue in South Africa has only served to make mischief and stir up bad blood between Englishman and Boer. And now German intrigue has been endeavoring to embarrass the United States, with a view to acquiring a part of Spain's forfeited estates. But Germany will learn by experience that it is as great a mistake to interfere with our policy in the Philippines as to meddle with the plans of England in South Africa.

Europe's View of Our Mission in the Philippines. We have not gone to the Philippines with any passion for conquest or annexation. We are there through the stern necessities of war. Circumstances have now brought us into such relationship with affairs in those islands that we are not likely to withdraw our jurisdiction in a hurry. Our withdrawal will certainly not be expedited by German intrigue or menace; and, on the contrary, it may be considerably retarded by just that sort of conduct. German interests in the Philippines have not justified the concentration at that point of so heavy a squadron. The German fleet has maintained clandestine relations with the Spaniards and has made itself obnoxious to Admiral Dewey in many ways that will have been reported by Dewey to our Government. For all of which Germany will gain nothing but a certain measure of distrust and ill-will. The arrival of reinforcements is about to make Dewey decidedly stronger in the waters of the Far East than Diedrichs. It is perfectly understood that Englishmen will welcome, rather than resent, an American occupation of the Philippines, on the understanding, of course, that America should take a high and generous view of her mission in that part of the world. The Russians have already informed us, unofficially, that our presence in the Philippines will have their entire good-will, and that no question could possibly arise on their part except from a possible difference of opinion as to who should succeed us in case of our withdrawal.

Germany hopes for the distribution of the group, the United States perhaps keeping a port or an island, Spain retaining a slice, and Germany getting as much as possible. But any such arrangement would make endless trouble. At the present moment the only two powers that could exercise sovereignty in the Philippines without causing serious international disturbance are Spain and the United States; and circumstances have conspired to make Spain's rule virtually impossible. The logical law of exclusion thus leaves the United States in necessary possession.

England Observes the Glorious Fourth. The people of England, for the first time in the one hundred and twenty-two years that have elapsed since the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, joined the Americans last month in celebrating the Fourth of July. The growing friendship between the two leading bodies of English-speaking people will be all the more secure if it includes friendliness and good-will toward all other nations. The very fact that Englishmen and Americans now understand one



WELL! WELL! WELL! JOHNNY BULL CELEBRATES THE FOURTH OF JULY.

From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

another so well that there is no possibility of their drawing the sword against each other, constitutes the best reason in the world why they can afford to be good-natured and tolerant in other directions. Mr. Chamberlain and his English followers who have so loudly advocated an Anglo-American alliance while breathing out threatenings against Russia, France, and others, are—to put it mildly—the most injudicious of politicians. Everything in the present international situation ought to aid in the promotion of a good understanding between England and Russia. We in the United States do not want alliances, but only frank and honorable friendships. As between the people of Great Britain and the United States, the bonds are so numerous and are interwoven so closely that the worst blunders of their governments could not now alienate two nations so closely akin. It ought to be the policy of the two governments in their dealings with one another to value these relationships between the English-speaking peoples as a source of great contingent strength and security to each. The British empire has made its way magnificently without alliances, and it is in no need of any at the present time. American friendship, however, and good understanding it needs and desires. And these it has won at a stroke by its splendid neighborliness toward us, in every nook and corner of the world, during the past four months.

Russia and the English-Speaking World. A very able ambassador has come to the United States from Russia. Count Cassini knows his business exceedingly well. He cannot see the reason why Uncle Sam should not be on more cordial terms with John Bull than he was in days gone by, without a sacrifice of the old traditions of friendliness between Russia and the United States. The policy of Lord Salisbury's cabinet, inspired largely by Mr. Chamberlain, has been a mistaken and a dangerous one in its hysterical antagonism to Russia's natural and reasonable desire to obtain an ice-free port for her trans-Siberian railroad system. Russia is doing a great piece of work for the world in opening up northern Asia, and the English have taken the wrong tone in their hostility to the presence of the Russian Bear at Port Arthur. Mr. Chamberlain will not succeed in drawing the United States into an alliance for the purpose of thwarting Russia's policy on the northern frontiers of China. Our influence will, doubtless, be added to that of England in the expression of the reasonable view that the Chinese ports should not be appropriated by Russia, Germany, or any other power, for the sake of shutting out the commerce of the world. But

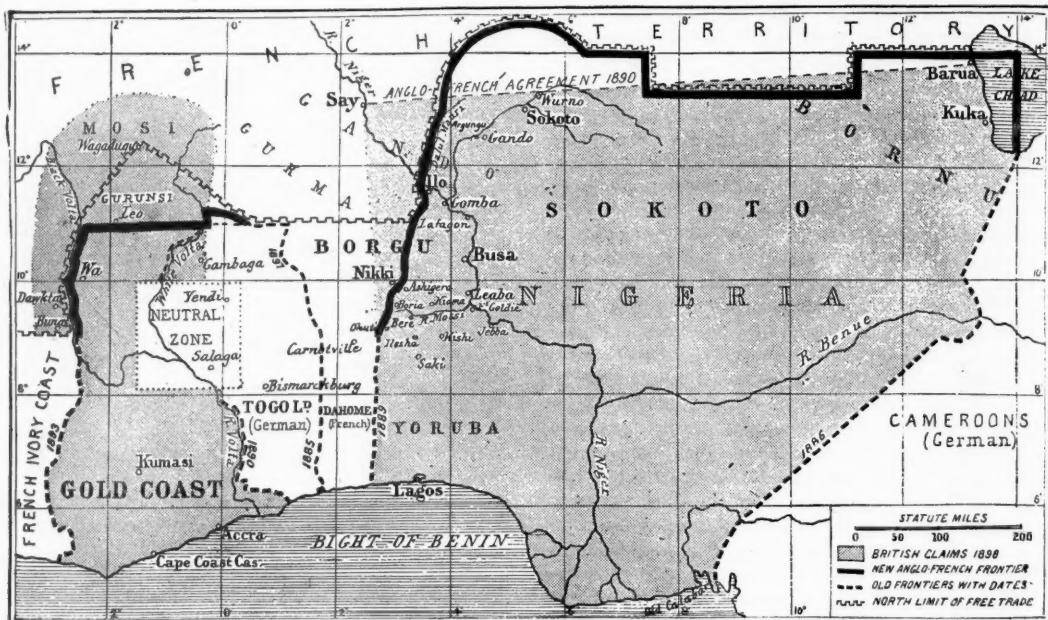


COUNT CASSINI.

(New Russian ambassador to the United States.)

Russia has not yet taken any final position on that question which could justify the alarm and dismay that have been so commonly expressed in England. In fact, M. De Witte, the great finance minister of Russia, has of late made several tariff concessions to British trade which point in quite the opposite direction.

Affairs In Her Majesty's Empire. The recent by-elections in England continue to illustrate the fact that the political pendulum has begun to swing back toward Liberal ascendancy. Foreign rather than domestic questions seem to be provoking the reaction against the Salisbury administration. Questions of church and education, however, have within the past few weeks been much discussed in Parliament, and the debates have invariably benefited the Liberals. Looking farther afield under the Union Jack, we find Australian federation brought to a definite standstill through the unfortunate fact that New South Wales in the recent election did not give a sufficient majority. The federation scheme swept the field in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, and in New South Wales itself there were 71,000 votes for federation and only 65,000 against it. But it had been previously agreed that there must be 80,000 affirmative



MAP TO SHOW SETTLEMENT OF ANGLO-FRENCH BOUNDARY DISPUTE IN WEST AFRICA.

votes cast in that colony. Time will overcome all difficulties and federation must become an accomplished fact within a few years. The Parliament of Cape Colony late in June passed a vote declaring its want of confidence in the ministry of Sir Gordon Sprigg; whereupon Sir Gordon, instead of meekly resigning, dismissed the Parliament and ordered an election. It seemed probable that the so-called Progressives would carry the day, with the result of making Mr. Cecil Rhodes prime minister.

British Gains of Territory. As extremely creditable to the good sense of the two countries and as a cheerful indication of the progress of public morals and civilization, it is to be noted that England and France have at last amicably composed their serious differences over their respective frontiers in the Niger region of West Africa. The details of the settlement have very slight importance as compared with the advantage

of having an irritating dispute of that kind finally cleared up. The British would seem, as usual, to have secured the better end of the bargain. This, however, it should be said, is by no means due to superior cleverness in the negotiations, but rather to the fact that their claims were decidedly



ENGLAND'S NEW TERRITORY AT HONG KONG.

the more substantial ones. And while they have thus made sure of all that they really needed on the Niger, they have also been acquiring another and a far more important bit of territory for their ever-growing empire—namely, the lease for ninety-nine years (which, of course, means forever) of a district on the mainland of China immediately adjacent to the island of Hong Kong. This lease includes about two hundred square miles, with Mirs Bay on the one side and Deep Bay on the other. It protects the important port of Hong Kong from any possible advance from the mainland. The English will undoubtedly proceed to erect impregnable fortifications upon the new slice of territory. The Spaniards, by the way, have been deeply concerned during the past few weeks on account of England's apparent intention to strengthen the fortifications at Gibraltar. The Spanish papers have been full of Gibraltar illustrations and also of denunciations of the English.

Kaiser and Reichstag. In addressing the regiments that form the Prussian body-guard at Potsdam, several weeks ago, upon the completion of his tenth year upon the throne, the Emperor William indulged in some very frank reminiscences. He declared that he had been misunderstood and distrusted in every quarter excepting one. The army, he avowed, had always believed in him, and he in turn had placed his reliance upon the troops. The outside world has freely remarked—what most people in Germany say with bated breath and in strict confidence—that the imperial career of William II. has been that of a man mischievously erratic. Germany, however, has made great strides in these past ten years, and William has not as yet involved his country in a foreign war. He has lately witnessed the turmoil of another Reichstag election, the results of which have not materially altered the strength of parties, although the Emperor's chief enemies, the social democrats, now have 56 members as against 48 in the preceding chamber. At least, the Emperor William is a man of amazing energy and versatility; and it seems likely that he will yet make some stirring chapters in European history.

A New Cabinet in France. We publish elsewhere an article by Baron Pierre de Coubertin on the politics and problems of France. This article follows several others that we have published in our series on contemporary issues in the leading countries of Europe. Its appearance has been deferred a little on account of the absorption of Americans in our own new problems. The recent elections had justified the

opinion that the Meline cabinet—the longest lived of any that has been in office under the Third Republic—would continue without disturbance. It resigned, however, on an issue more theoretical than practical, as to the relation of the regular republicans to the radicals. A repudiation of radical support left the ministry with too small a majority for working purposes. It took two weeks—from June 15 to 29—to install a new cabinet. The well-known radical leader, M. Brisson, is now prime minister, and M. Delcassé has taken the place of Hanotaux as foreign minister. M. Bourgeois is also in the cabinet. The new leaders are men of talent, experience, and high character, and so far as their personalities go they are eminently creditable to France. Their support in the Chambers, apparently, is not coherent enough to promise them more than a very brief term in office.

Rudini's Downfall.

In the same period while the French were forming a new ministry the Italians were undergoing a like experience. Rudini had not been able to keep his backing in the Chamber after the touch of civil war some weeks ago at Milan. General Pelloux is now the prime minister, and a naval man, Admiral Canevaro, is minister of foreign affairs. Rudini had appealed to the King to sustain him in a high-handed policy for the dissolution of the Chamber and the levying of taxes by royal decree—which would have amounted in its essence to a Rudini dictatorship. The new ministry announces a totally different attitude toward Parliament and the country, and it remains to be seen whether its mild manners will prove effective.

Austria's Open Sores.

Austria's marked sympathy with Spain and undisguised dislike of the United States does not by any means argue the ability on her part to act with unity or energy. The plain fact is that internal dissensions are constantly increasing. The Emperor has taken matters into his own hands, and for the past month or more he has been carrying on the government of Austria quite after the fashion of a czar. The disagreements between the rival racial elements of the Austrian empire, particularly between the Germans and the Slavs, are apparently beyond power of reconciliation. The experiment of allowing the Czech language to be used officially in Bohemian schools and courts has only made the quarrel worse. The German opposition to the new plan is more violent than was the Bohemian opposition to the old plan of a single official language. The Emperor has been obliged to modify the arrangement for the sake of pacifying the Germans. In Galicia and other

provinces agrarian discontent has broken out in something like open revolution. Thus troubles multiply throughout the realms of Francis Joseph. He has ruled for fifty years and has gained the personal loyalty of his subjects. After him, it is to be feared, will come the deluge.

Remarkable Record of Congress. The members of the Fifty-fifth Congress, when the session adjourned on July 8, went home with a most uncommon budget of interesting material with which to enliven their constituents during the campaign that has already opened in most districts. President McKinley has shown himself a past master of tact and diplomacy in dealing with Congress. This has done a great deal to make the wheels turn smoothly at Washington. It has been a very remarkable session on many accounts. The unanimity with which both houses of Congress voted the fifty-million-dollar fund in the earlier days of the session and the patriotic spirit in which the President's war policies have been supported by both houses have been a chief factor in the enhanced respect that the United States has gained abroad. The war-revenue bill was enacted in substantially the form that the finance department of the administration desired, and the war loan was duly authorized upon satisfactory terms. For the first time since the Civil War Congress has appropriated more liberally for naval construction than the Secretary of the Navy has asked in his annual report. New legislation has reorganized the army upon approved modern lines. Laws passed in this session have prohibited American citizens from engaging in the business of killing fur seals in the north Pacific, and have granted the money due to British subjects by virtue of the awards allowed for the detention of Canadian sealing vessels. We have already commented upon the completion of the Hawaiian annexation project, and it remains to mention the enactment, after many years of discussion, of a national bankruptcy bill.

The New Bankruptcy Law. The bankruptcy measure as passed embodies many compromises in matters of detail. Upon the whole, it is regarded by all interests as a very reasonable and practicable piece of legislation. The process of liquidation has been going on, in spite of the lack of national bankruptcy provisions. But at this time, when the tide is setting unmistakably toward the return of prosperity, it is particularly desirable that energetic men, who became deeply involved a few years ago through widespread conditions of adversity that were beyond their control, should now have their hands unfettered

and be allowed to plunge freely into the thick of business affairs. The farmers of the great West have been paying off their debts magnificently. Many of the merchants and business men of the towns, however, can never by any possibility disentangle themselves from old obligations without going through a bankruptcy court. The sooner such cases are adjusted the better it will be for everybody concerned. The bankruptcy bill, as passed, had been in the hands of a conference committee of the two houses for several months. It was finally worked out in detail by a sub-committee of the conferees consisting of Senator Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, and Representative George W. Ray, of New York. Mr. Ray and the House conferees represented, in general, what has been known as the Torrey bill—a measure thought by Mr. Nelson and his friends to be rather too hard upon the debtor. Mr. Nelson and the Senators, on the other hand, were considered by the advocates of the Torrey bill as not solicitous enough for the creditor. When the conferees finished their work the bill was perhaps as nearly fair to everybody concerned as is humanly possible. A bankruptcy law is most needed, not at the hour of severest business depression, but rather when the times are turning from bad to good.

Western Prosperity and the Omaha Fair. The great interior of the United States—thanks to a hard experience and two or three years of good prices for grain and live-stock—is already well out of its period of affliction. The West is not looking forward to an era of booms and speculation, but counts upon great gains in the development of its resources and the repayment of borrowed capital. Taking the country in general and its different crops on the average, the present season is one of great promise. The Omaha Exposition has not yet attracted the attention that it deserves, principally by reason of the more thrilling spectacles of our war situation. But the attendance through the remaining months of August, September, and October ought to be very large. There will soon be represented on the exposition grounds the Indian congress, comprising representatives of twenty-five or thirty tribes—some hundreds of Indians in all—with wigwams, costumes, and everything else in exact conformity to the original customs of the particular tribes. There is to be a great cattle show in October. The architectural scheme at Omaha has won the enthusiastic praise of all those who have been privileged to visit the exposition; and although it is on a much smaller scale than the World's Fair at Chicago, it is generally

agreed that in point of beauty and fairy-like charm the Omaha buildings will bear comparison with those at Jackson Park.

The War Loan. The success of the war loan fully justifies the expectations that we had already expressed. Secretary Gage, as well as the New York bankers, did not seem to believe at all that the small investors would absorb the loan. The newspapers, almost without exception, predicted that the small investors would over-subscribe the entire sum. The result shows that the newspapers were right and the financiers wrong. The subscriptions for amounts of \$5,000 or less aggregated a great deal more than the total \$200,000,000. All those whose subscriptions were for sums less than \$5,000, however, received the full amount. Those who had subscribed the even amount of \$5,000 had to be content with about 20 per cent. This experience, in time of war, throws into somewhat painful contrast the premiums paid by the last administration, in time of profound peace, to a New York syndicate for helping the Government to sell American securities to the Rothschilds. If the Government had wanted \$2,000,000 last month instead of \$200,000,000, the people of the United States would have over-subscribed the amount with alacrity.

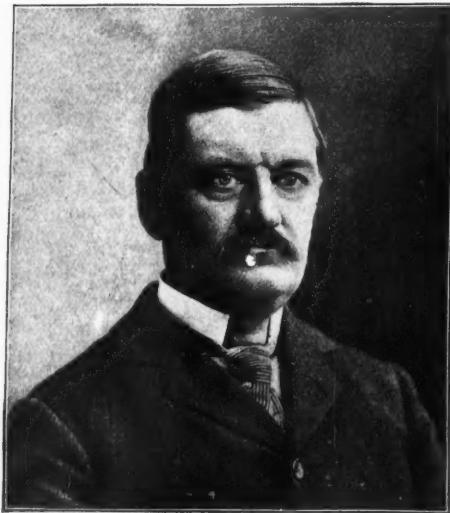
A New Phase of New York Politics. The New York Legislature, which had completed its regular session on March 31, was in special session by call of Governor Black during the week beginning July 11. Provision was made for allowing soldiers in the field to vote in the fall elections, and \$500,000 was placed at the governor's disposal for military purposes. The great question before the special session, however, was one of a very different sort. As our readers generally are aware, the Greater New York charter continued the former plan of assigning to the police board the duty of election commissioners. Mayor Van Wyck and the Tammany managers, desiring to make a change in the position of chief of police, had some weeks ago removed the two Republican members of the bi-partisan board, appointing in their places two men who, though nominally Republicans, were thought to be willing to obey Tammany orders. As soon as the board was reconstituted Chief McCullagh was deposed, and Captain Devery (whose name has an unpleasant prominence in the records of the Lexow commission) was raised to the position of chief. The Republicans looked upon this maneuver as having direct reference to the fall elections. Mr. Platt and his organization appealed at once to Governor Black to call the Republican

Legislature of the State into special session for the sake of taking the control of elections out of the hands of the police authorities. The bill as actually passed last month creates a metropolitan elections district, in which Westchester County is added to the Greater New York—for no reason, apparently, except to take the matter clearly outside of municipal jurisdiction. Under the terms of the bill Governor Black has appointed John McCullagh, the ex-police chief, as State superintendent of elections. The superintendent has, in turn, authority to select some six hundred deputies from lists furnished him by committees of the party organizations. There is no intention in this measure to promote any unfair methods at the polls, the sole object being to circumvent the Tammany trickery that Republicans were anticipating. Nevertheless, this habit of appeal to the Legislature to protect the city against itself is, in the long run, a worse evil than the evils which it is intended to avert.

Some Woeful Accidents. Few are the months which do not bring their chapters of disaster by sea and by land. The one of which most note was taken last month was the sinking of the French liner *Bourgogne* as a result of a collision off the Banks of Newfoundland. She was on her way from New York to Havre and carried many passengers, of whom only a few were rescued. The most painful part of the record lies in the fact that only one woman was saved. Seven hundred and fourteen persons had sailed on the ship; only 164 escaped with their lives, and these were nearly all of them members of the crew. Comment seems superfluous. An American ship—the *Delaware*, of the Clyde line—had to be abandoned only a few nights after the loss of the *Bourgogne*, on account of fire. Perfect discipline was maintained; all passengers received due attention; not a life was lost. In England there was an unfortunate accident on the occasion of the launching of a new battleship. It occurred at a ship-yard in East London, where an enormous crowd was gathered to see the Duchess of York, who was expected to christen the *Albion*. The plunge of the vessel threw up a mass of water that wrecked a bridge or platform on which some hundreds of people were standing. About forty women and children were drowned. Such casualties, serious as they are, seem tame, however, when compared with the sublime horrors of the smashing of Cervera's fleet on the Cuban coast, amid the thunders of thirteen-inch guns and the incessant rattle, screech, and roar of the lesser artillery. Most wonderful of all is the preservation of American life in that deadly rain of missiles.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From June 21 to July 20, 1898.)



COMMANDER PILLSBURY, OF THE DYNAMITE CRUISER "VESEVIUS."

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

June 21.—Landing of troops from the American transports begins at Baiquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago de Cuba....The Spaniards on the Ladron Islands capitulate to the United States cruiser *Charleston*.

June 22.—Direct cable communication is established between Washington and Guantánamo, Cuba....Troops are dispatched from Camp Alger for the reënforcement of General Shafter in Cuba....The auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul* is attacked, while off San Juan, Porto Rico, by the Spanish torpedo-boat destroyer *Terror*; the *St. Paul's* fire disables the *Terror*, killing an officer and two men and wounding others.

June 23.—The landing of the troops near Santiago is completed....The United States monitor *Monadnock* sails for Manila.

June 24.—In advancing from Baiquiri General Young's brigade of cavalry and the "Rough Riders" (dismounted), under Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, encounter a superior force of Spaniards near Sevilla; a heavy fire is opened on

the Americans; Sergt. Hamilton Fish, Jr., of the "Rough Riders," is killed, and Capt. A. K. Capron mortally wounded; the enemy is finally driven from position, after the Americans have sustained a loss of 16 killed and 41 wounded....The Spanish Cortes is dissolved.

June 25.—American troops under General Chaffee occupy Sevilla, abandoned by the Spaniards.

June 26.—The American outposts are within four miles of the city of Santiago.

June 27.—The third Manila expedition, consisting of the transport ships *Indiana*, *Ohio*, *Morgan City*, and *City of Para*, commanded by Gen. Arthur McArthur, sails from San Francisco....It is announced at Washington that an armored squadron under Commodore Watson will sail for the coast of Spain....Brig.-Gen. G. L. Gillespie is ordered to take command of the Department of the East, headquarters at Governor's Island, and New York harbor, in place of Brig.-Gen. R. T. Frank, who is ordered to report for other duty.

June 28.—President McKinley issues a proclamation extending the blockade of Cuban ports to those of the southern coast and instituting a blockade of the port of San Juan, Porto Rico.

June 29.—Gen. Wesley Merritt sails from San Francisco for the Philippines....General Snyder's division of the Fourth Army Corps, numbering more than 8,000 men, sails for Santiago to reënforce General Shafter.

June 30.—The cruiser *Charleston* and the three troopers of the first Philippine expedition arrive at Cavite.

July 1.—The heights of El Caney and San Juan, overlooking Santiago, are taken by the American troops; General Lawton's infantry (Chaffee's brigade leading) attack El Caney, and after nine hours of fighting carry the Spanish defenses at that point, with heavy losses

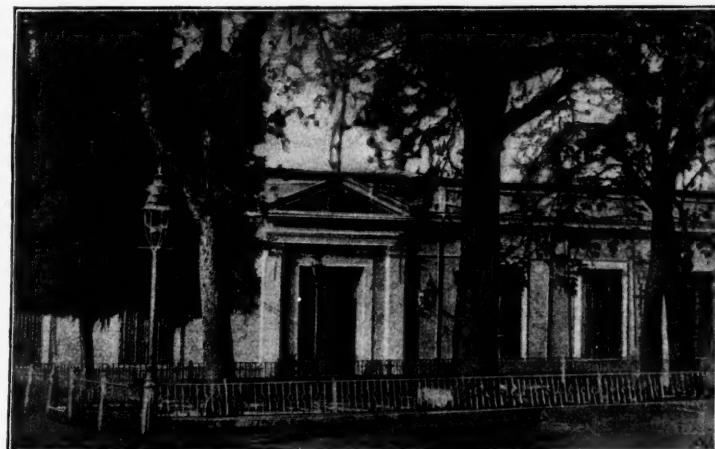


SPANISH BLOCKHOUSE ON THE HEIGHTS OF SEVILLA NEAR SANTIAGO.

on both sides; many Spaniards are taken prisoners; the advance on San Juan is made by the regular cavalry (dismounted), the First Volunteer Cavalry ("Rough Riders"), and the Seventy-first New York; the heights are carried after a terrible sacrifice of life; General Linares, commanding the Spanish forces, is wounded, and his second in command is killed.

July 2.—The Spaniards attempt to retake San Juan; after severe fighting they are finally repulsed; General Lawton's troops extend the American lines north of Santiago; several thousand Spanish reinforcements succeed in entering the city; the total American losses in the two days' fighting are: Killed, 22 officers and 208 men; wounded, 81 officers and 1,208 men; missing, 79 men.

July 3.—The Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera attempts to run out of Santiago harbor, but is pursued by the *Brooklyn*, the *Oregon*, the *Iowa*, and the *Texas*, of the American squadron, and the converted yacht *Gloucester*; of the Spanish ships, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the *Vizcaya* are



PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

forced ashore in a sinking condition and surrendered; the *Cristobal Colon* makes a desperate effort to escape, but is finally run ashore under the fire of the American ships forty miles from the harbor; the two torpedo-boat destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton* are wrecked within four miles of the harbor; Admiral Cervera, Captain Eulate, of the *Vizcaya*, and more than 700 officers and men are taken prisoners; terrible loss of life is reported on the Spanish ships; the American loss is 1 killed and 2 wounded....General Shafter gives notice to General Toral, commanding the Spanish forces in Santiago, that he will shell the city and that women and children should leave at once.

July 4.—President McKinley conveys to Admiral Sampson the congratulations and thanks of the American people for the victory over the Spanish fleet off Santiago de Cuba.

July 5.—Santiago still refuses to surrender; the truce is extended.

July 6.—The Spanish authorities at Santiago exchange Lieutenant Hobson and his seven men for prisoners taken by our troops....The Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara is reported at Suez.

July 7.—General Miles leaves Washington for Santiago....Thousands of refugees leave the city of Santiago....An extension of the armistice at Santiago is granted in order that non-combatants may have time to leave the city and to permit the Spanish commander to communicate with Madrid regarding surrender.

July 8.—The American lines in front of Santiago are greatly strengthened, and siege-guns and mortar-batteries in position for bombardment....Admiral Camara's squadron re-enters the Suez Canal for its return voyage to Spain....The *Concord* and *Raleigh*, of Admiral Dewey's fleet, take possession of Isla Grande in Subig Bay, near Manila; the *Irene*, a German ship which had interfered to protect the Spaniards against the insurgents, withdraws on the arrival of the American ships....President McKinley nominates the following brigadier-generals of volunteers to be major-generals: Hamilton S. Hawkins, Henry W. Lawton, Adna R. Chaffee, and John C. Bates; Col. Leonard Wood, First Volunteer Cavalry, and Lieut.-Col. Chambers



DR. SANARELLI.

(Discoverer of the yellow-fever bacillus.)

Courtesy of *Cassier's Magazine*.

THE LATE REAR ADMIRAL DANIEL AMMEN, U. S. N.

McKibbin, Twenty-first Infantry, are nominated to be brigadier-generals, and Lieut.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt, First Volunteer Cavalry, to be colonel.

July 9.—General Toral, in command of the Spanish forces in Santiago, offers to surrender the city if his troops are allowed to withdraw with their arms; this proposition is declined by General Shafter.

July 10.—Reënforcements for General Shafter arrive at Siboney....Admiral Cervera and the other officers and men of the Spanish fleet destroyed at Santiago arrive at Portsmouth, N. H., as prisoners of war of the United States.

July 11.—General Miles arrives in Cuba and confers with General Shafter and Admiral Sampson....General Shafter renews his demand for the unconditional surrender of Santiago; renewal of bombardment is again postponed.

July 14.—General Toral consents to the surrender of Santiago and the Spanish troops there, on condition that they be sent back to Spain.

July 15.—The Spanish Government issues a decree suspending the rights of individual citizens....The fourth Manila expedition, consisting of the steamships *Peru* and *City of Pueblo*, with 1,700 troops, sails from San Francisco, General Otis in command.

July 16.—Admiral Cervera and the captured officers of his fleet are quartered at Annapolis, Md., as prisoners of war....The transport *China*, of the second Manila expedition, with reënforcements for Admiral Dewey, arrives at Cavite.

July 17.—The city of Santiago de Cuba is formally surrendered to General Shafter, and the American flag

is hoisted over the palace; the Spanish troops march out and give up their arms; all the country east of a line drawn through Acerraderos, Palma, and Sagua, with the troops and munitions of war in that district, are surrendered also, the United States agreeing to transport the troops back to Spain....The remaining transports of the second Manila expedition arrive at Cavite with United States troops.

July 18.—President McKinley issues a proclamation regarding the government of Santiago.

July 20.—The United States awards the contract for transporting Spanish prisoners to Spain to the Spanish Transatlantic Company....General Wilson starts from Charleston for Porto Rico with 4,000 troops.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

June 21-23.—The Senate debates the annexation of Hawaii.

June 24.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the bankruptcy bill by a vote of 43 to 13.

June 25.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill; opponents of Hawaiian annexation resort to filibustering tactics.

June 28.—The Senate begins consideration of the general deficiency appropriation bill....The House adopts the conference report on the bankruptcy bill and passes several measures relating to the army.

June 29.—The Senate adopts the general deficiency appropriation bill and adopts a resolution of thanks to Hobson and his men and to Lieutenant Newcomb for his rescue of the *Winslow*.

June 30-July 5.—The Senate continues discussion of the Hawaiian annexation resolution.

July 6.—The Senate, by a vote of 42 to 21, passes the resolution providing for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; the House amendment to the general deficiency appropriation bill is concurred in....The House adopts the Senate amendment to the general deficiency appropriation bill.

July 7.—The Senate passes a bill giving to Adjutant-General Corbin the rank of major-general.

July 8.—The second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress comes to an end by the adjournment of both branches.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

June 22.—Ohio Republicans indorse the war policy of the national administration and renominate the State officers....Michigan Democrats, Silver Republicans, and Populists nominate a fusion State ticket, headed by Justin R. Whiting for governor.

June 28.—Maine Republicans renominate Governor Powers.

June 29.—Pennsylvania Democrats nominate George D. Jenks for governor....Georgia Democrats in convention nominate Allen D. Candler for governor.

June 30.—Minnesota Republicans nominate ex-Mayor William H. Eustis, of Minneapolis, for governor....Maine Democrats nominate Samuel L. Lord for governor.

July 5.—Governor Black issues a call for the New York Legislature to meet in extra session July 11.

July 7.—President McKinley signs the resolution passed by Congress for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; the cruiser *Philadelphia* is ordered to Honolulu to raise the American flag over the islands.

July 9.—As commissioners to Hawaii President McKinley appoints Senator Cullom, of Illinois; Senator

Morgan, of Alabama; Representative Hitt, of Illinois; ex-President Dole and Justice Frear, of Hawaii.

July 11.—The New York Legislature meets in extra session to provide for the expense of equipping troops, for the counting of votes cast by soldiers at the front, and for honest elections in the State....Secretary Alger issues orders attaching the Hawaiian Islands to the military department of California.

July 13.—The National League of Republican Clubs meets in Omaha, Neb.

July 16.—The extra session of the New York Legislature adjourns after passing bills providing for the expense of the National Guard, for bi-partisan representation on boards of election inspectors, for changes in the method of conducting city elections, and for the counting of the soldier vote in State elections....Governor Black, of New York, appoints ex-Chief of Police McCullagh, of New York City, State superintendent of elections.

July 20.—Vermont Democrats nominate a State ticket.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

June 25.—M. Peytral having been unable to form a new French Cabinet, the task is intrusted to M. Henri Brisson.

June 26.—Marquis Ito resigns as Prime Minister of Japan.

June 27.—The second balloting for members of the German Reichstag shows socialist gains.

June 28.—A new Japanese Cabinet is formed by Okuma Stagaki....M. Brisson completes the organization of the new French Cabinet.

June 29.—A new Italian Cabinet is formed, with General Pelloux as prime minister.

June 30.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes a vote of confidence in the Brisson ministry.

July 4.—An attempted revolution in Montevideo, Uruguay, is put down by force of arms; 60 persons are killed and 300 wounded.

July 5.—The British House of Commons, by a vote of 286 to 144, rejects John Redmond's resolution for the redress of Ireland's taxation grievances.

July 12.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies approves the measure for restoring order in the country....A formidable rebellion is reported in the West River district of China, nine towns having been taken by the insurgents and the imperial troops defeated in battle, with heavy losses.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

June 21.—Delegates from Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua meet at Managua to form a constitution of a federal union.

June 23.—Count Cassini, first Russian Ambassador to the United States, is presented to President McKinley.

June 26.—It is announced that the claims of Italy against Haiti have been adjusted.

June 29.—The commissioners to represent the Canadian government in the adjustment of differences with the United States are appointed.

July 1.—The Wei-Hai-Wei treaty between China and Great Britain is signed.

July 4.—The anniversary of American independence is celebrated in Great Britain and in some of her colonies.

July 12.—The Peruvian Congress approves the protocol between Chile and Peru.

July 14.—The Swiss Federal Council prohibits the importation of American fresh and dried fruits.

July 16.—President McKinley appoints as commissioners to represent the United States in the proposed adjustment of relations with Canada Senator Fair-



RAMON BLANCO,
Spanish Captain-General of Cuba.

banks, of Indiana; Senator Gray, of Delaware; Representative Dingley, of Maine; John A. Kasson, of Iowa; and John W. Foster, of the District of Columbia.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

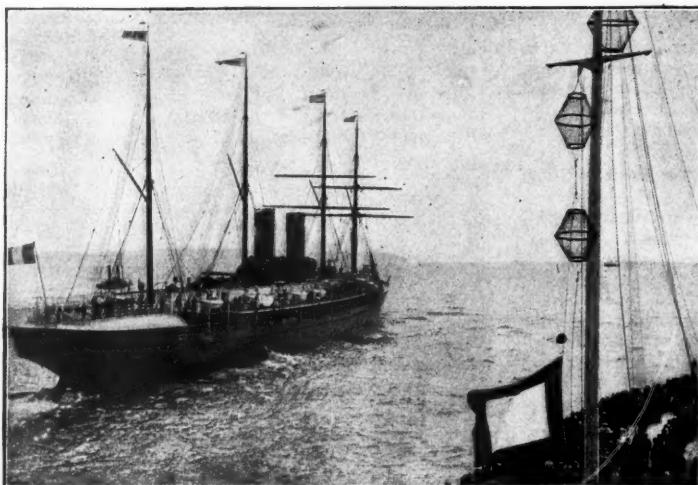
June 21.—At the launching of the British battleship *Albion* at Blackwall 37 spectators are drowned by the wrecking of a platform.

June 23.—A Chinese war vessel at Port Arthur is wrecked by a typhoon and 130 of her men are drowned....Strikers attack non-union workers in the planing-mills and sash factories at Oshkosh, Wis....Cornell wins in the boat-race with Yale and Harvard at New London.

June 24.—Captain Sverdrup's arctic expedition sails from Christiania on the *Fram*.

June 26.—The arctic expedition under Walter Wellman sails from Tromsø, Norway....The Clifton House at Niagara Falls is destroyed by fire.

June 28.—Wisconsin's semi-centennial as a State is celebrated in Milwaukee....A new combination of distillers is formed, with a capital of \$24,000,000.



THE FRENCH LINE STEAMER "LA BOURGOGNE."

(Sunk on July 4, sixty miles from Sable Island, with the loss of five hundred and sixty persons.)

July 1.—Edwin Austin Abbey, American painter, is elected to membership in the Royal Academy.

July 2.—Owing to a stereotypers' strike no newspapers are published in Chicago....The University of Pennsylvania wins in the boat-race with Cornell at Saratoga.

July 4.—The French line steamer *La Bourgogne* collides with the British ship *Cromartyshire* and is sunk sixty miles south of Sable Island; 560 of the 725 persons on board are drowned.

July 6.—The Chicago newspapers are issued again, the Typographical Union deciding that the stereotypers' strike is illegal and declining to assist it.

July 12.—The new Japanese cruiser, *Kasagi*, makes an average speed of 22½ knots an hour on her trial trip.

July 13.—The Anglo-American League holds its organization meeting in London.

July 18.—Zola and Perreux, on their second trial for libel, are sentenced to a year's imprisonment and to pay a fine of 3,000 francs each, with costs.

OBITUARY.

June 21.—Rev. Dr. David D. Demarest, professor in the theological seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J., 79.

June 23.—Col. S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, of New York City, 54.

June 27.—William Henry Rhawn, a well-known Philadelphia banker, 66.

July 1.—*Col. Charles A. Wikoff, Twenty-second Infantry, U. S. A., 61....*Lieut.-Col. John M. Hamilton, Ninth Cavalry, U. S. A., 59....*Maj. Albert G. Force, First Cavalry, U. S. A.

July 6.—Dr. Cornelius E. Herz, of Panama Canal notoriety, 53....Prof. James Monroe, of Oberlin College, formerly a member of Congress.

July 7.—Parker Pillsbury, anti-slavery agitator, 89.

July 11.—Rear Admiral Daniel Ammen, U. S. N., retired, 78....Ex-Senator Omar D. Conger, of Michigan, 80.

July 12.—Rev. Dr. Samuel Buckingham, of Springfield, Mass., 86....Maj. William G. Moore, superintendent of police, Washington, D. C., 69.

July 14.—Mrs. Elizabeth Lynn Linton, novelist and essayist, 76.

July 17.—George Alfred Pillsbury, capitalist, of Minneapolis, 82....Gen. John Stuart Williams, of Kentucky, ex-United States Senator and hero of Mexican and Civil wars, 78.

July 20.—Admiral Thomas Leeke Massie, known as the "Father of the British Navy," 96.

IMPORTANT CONVENTIONS IN AUGUST.

The fiftieth anniversary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to be held at Boston, August 22-27, promises to be a most successful meeting. Foreign scientists will take part and foreign scientific bodies will be represented by delegates.

The American Bar Association will hold its twenty-first annual meeting at Saratoga, August 17-19. The International Law Association has determined not to hold its meeting in America this year.

The American Social Science Association will also meet at Saratoga, August 29. This body meets annually to discuss current questions in jurisprudence, economics, and education.

The second meeting of the League of American Municipalities, membership in which is held by the cities of this country and Canada, will be held at Detroit, August 1-4.

* Killed in battle before Santiago de Cuba.



CARTOONS—CHIEFLY SPANISH—ON THE WAR.



HOW THE STUPID SAMPSON WAS OUTWITTED BY
CERVERA.

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid.)

THE Spanish cartoons, ten of which we reproduce on this and the following pages, are well worth studying for the light they throw upon the state of public opinion in Spain. It happens that the most striking ones are this month selected from *Don Quixote*; but *El Gédon*, *Blanco y Negro*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *Barcelona Comica*, and the other Spanish papers that regularly publish cartoons, all show the same amazing perversity in their treatment of facts. We do not think for a moment that the Spanish cartoonists are in a conspiracy to deceive their public. The cartoonists themselves are undoubtedly as blind as most of the Spanish editors and all of their constituents.

Our opening cartoon, for instance, shows the fleet of Cervera as successfully slipping past Sampson at Santiago; while another on the following page represents Cervera as having Schley bottled up,



GENERAL LINARES—THE MAN OF THE DAY.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid.)

all in dead earnest and not as a joke. On page 151 Admiral Dewey is represented as a rat caught in Spain's Philippine trap; and up to this very moment, probably, the majority of the people in Spain think that Govern-



MCKINLEY TO OLD MRS. BRITANNIA: "Wouldn't you like a bite yourself?"
From *Don Quixote* (Madrid.)



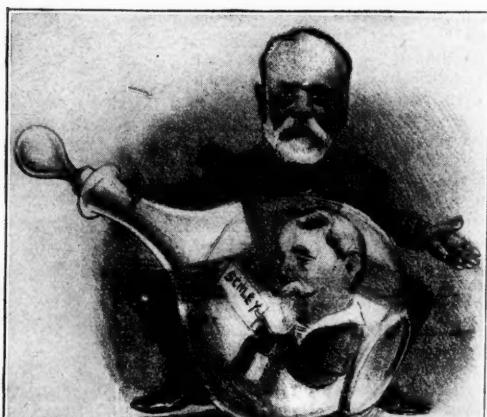
M'KINLEY UP TO DATE, AND WORSE TO FOLLOW!

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

or-General Augusti at Manila holds Dewey virtually as a prisoner of war. The drawing from *Blanco y Negro* on the first page shows General Linares, chief in command at Santiago, easily repelling the assault of Shafter's troops, represented as wild boars. Poor President McKinley is depicted in this column as shockingly disfigured by reason of his series of pummelings, particularly at Santiago de Cuba. The flag cartoon is based upon a Spanish report that American warships sailed under Spanish colors in stealing a march on the forts at Guantanamo. Upon the strength of this report the United States is charged with the crime of piracy.



YANKEE PIRATES.

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).CERVERA TO SCHLEY: "You will soon see that it is I who have you bottled up!"—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).



THE PREDICAMENT OF DEWEY.
From *Don Quixote* (Madrid.)



THE "MERRIMAC" INCIDENT.
From *Comico* (Madrid).



SPAIN TO FRANCE: "Hit Johnny Bull as hard as you can, and I'll take care of the pig."
From *Barcelona Comica* (Barcelona).

The friendly relations between England and the United States form a subject of constant discussion in Spain; and the writers as well as comic artists of the press are quite as angry at England as at the United States. On the opening page we have reproduced a cartoon in which (symbolically) the two English-speaking countries are represented as eating together; and on this page they are drinking the health of the Anglo-Saxon alliance, while France and Spain in the background are preparing to annihilate the Saxon race.

Our always original and ingenuous neighbor, *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, of Mexico, likes nothing so well as to puncture absurd Spanish pretensions. Its cartoon on this page represents the advance of the Yankee fleet in the distance, while

Sagasta in the home country, Augustin in the Philippines, and Blanco in Cuba are all tugging at the poor reserve squadron of Camara, with which they hope to protect their exposed sea borders.

The small cartoon from the Madrid *Comico* is meant to express the Spanish theory that the *Merrimac* exploit was a piece of sheer foolhardiness on the part of the excited and incompetent Sampson, all for the benefit of the Spanish on-lookers. It will certainly be worth while to follow the subsequent work of these Spanish cartoonists, in order to see if they can ever bring themselves to the point of recognizing and admitting defeat. We shall report on that point next month.



SAGASTA: "Don't pull! You'll uncover your mother."
From *El Hijo Del Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

The cartoonist of *Blanco y Negro* on this page taunts Uncle Sam on the fact of his associations with dynamite-using Cuban insurgents and petroleum-using Philipine insurrectionists, quoting the proverb that men are known by the company they keep. For some reason—perhaps a certain Spanish inaptitude for geography—these cartoonists seem to have overlooked the Hawaiian affair altogether. The Minneapolis cartoonists, as three drawings on this page would indicate, are



PROVERBS IN PRACTICE.

"Tell me with whom you go, and I'll tell you who you are."
—Spanish Proverb.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).



HURRAH FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY!

We're coming in on Independence Day celebrations, too.—
From the *Journdi* (Minneapolis).

disposed to consider the annexation of Hawaii to the United States a matter of considerable public interest. The *Tribune* represents Senator Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as the officiating physician, and the *Journal*, in turn, exhibits Uncle Sam as weighing the lusty Hawaiian infant in the folds of the United States flag.



A LUSTY INFANT.

Born to Mr. and Mrs. Columbia.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



WEIGHING THE BABY.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

THE BATTLE WITH CERVERA'S FLEET OFF SANTIAGO.

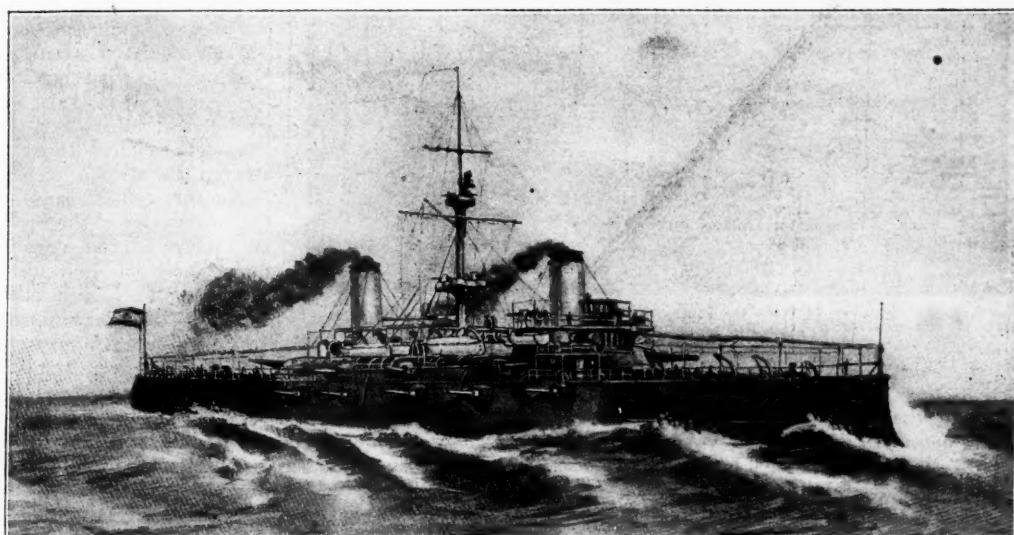
BY WINSTON CHURCHILL.

I.

THE victory of July 3, 1898, far from overshadowing that of Admiral Dewey at Manila, simply proves, if proof were needed, that our navy is homogeneous. We like to believe and to know that any one of its flag officers would have taken a squadron into a yawning black harbor in the far East to grapple with and overcome unknown dangers ; that any of its juniors would have steamed with the *Merrimac* at certain destruction and almost certain death into a narrow channel filled with mines and lined with batteries. We thank God that these men were born under the Stars and Stripes, and that he has given them the skill and the might and the right which have saved their lives in time of peril. And the words of Captain Philip, of the *Texas*, spoken when that wonderful Sunday's work was done, have thrilled his countrymen and his race with a sacred feeling no writer can define. He stood on the quarter deck of his ship and said to those who had shared with him the dangers of that battle as they listened with bared heads : "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I be-

live in God the Father Almighty. I want all you officers and men to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to God Almighty."

That the United States had a navy before this war began is a fact that has been but little appreciated both at home and abroad. On the continent of Europe it was openly declared and secretly hoped that the Spanish navy would be more than a match for ours. There were Englishmen—and Americans, too, who had not read their history—who forgot that a leopard cannot change his spots, and they shook their heads and feared that we should meet defeat at the first, until we could build more ships and get more men. When the *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor there were people all over this country—patriotic men and women undoubtedly—who honestly believed that the cause of the accident, if not a breach of discipline, was at least due to a faulty construction of the ship. For many years this branch of our service has been persistently underrated by those who knew nothing of what they spoke. At every grounding or leak or other mishap to our new ships many murmured and scoffed, and some of the papers actu-



THE CRUISER "CRISTOBAL COLON."

(Last of the Spanish ships to be abandoned July 3.)

ally published jokes about the insecurity of our battleships. If any of these critics, after four years of the hardest kind of work at Annapolis, were put on the bridge of a warship and told to conduct her from port to port, they would perhaps appreciate that the successful handling of a war vessel, even in times of peace, is one of the most difficult tasks in the world and is only acquired after a lifetime of the most assiduous study and the practice of it.

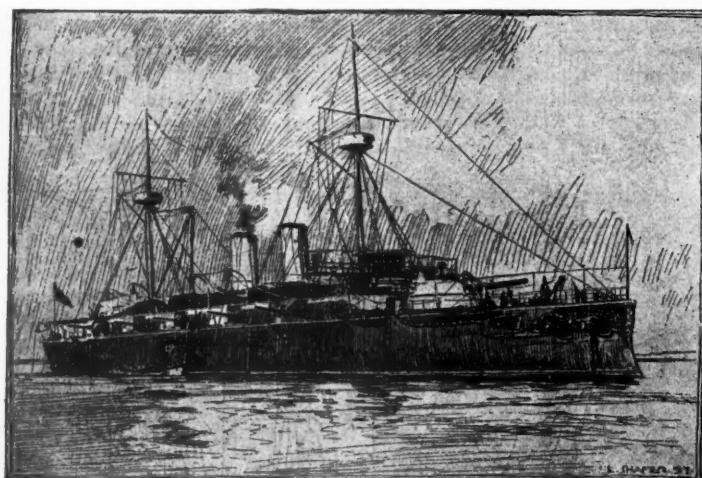
The naval profession, if properly followed—and our naval men have so followed it—may well be said to be the most exacting and inclusive of any. A naval officer must be an expert in half a dozen branches of science, any one of which in civil life is deemed sufficient for one man. His work is never done. In order to pass his examinations at every grade he must keep up with the advance in steam engineering, in gunnery, electricity, and modern ship-building, and in much else. He must have international law at his fingers' ends, and he must be able to think and decide quickly in the most trying of situations. If he makes a false step he is court-martialed. It is not all dancing o' nights. There

a college crew training for a race, the eyes of the people have been elsewhere until the reputation of a nation is seen to be at stake, and they turn with a start of apprehension and guilt at their neglect. Had there not been far-seeing and public-spirited men who persistently hammered at Congress for the ships already granted, the officers who have sacrificed all mean ambition and money-getting to the service of their country would have had the blame of any defeat which might have fallen on our flag for the lack of ships.

And what, it may be asked, has been happening in the Spanish service? In the first place, the Spanish officer has had nothing like the initial training undergone by the American. Very few of them would prove equal to the test, and here is the root of the whole evil. The question resolves into one of race in the very beginning, and it is not the Spaniard's fault that he was not born with the mechanical ability, the vitality, and the thirst for professional knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon. Next there is the moral element. When the *Vizcaya* visited New York this spring the bills of the supplies she bought there were made out in largely augmented amounts for submission at Madrid. The money that has left the Spanish treasury for target practice and for coal for fleet evolutions has found its way, like many millions of pesetas before, into official pockets, while the Spanish officers have sat under *café* awnings and smoked cigarettes and drunk absinthe and discussed the lack of discipline that destroyed the *Maine*.

Another radical cause of the inefficiency of the Spanish navy is the enlisted man, whose condition seems worse than in any other service. He is kidnaped by unscrupulous agents, as was the custom in the time of Frederick the Great and

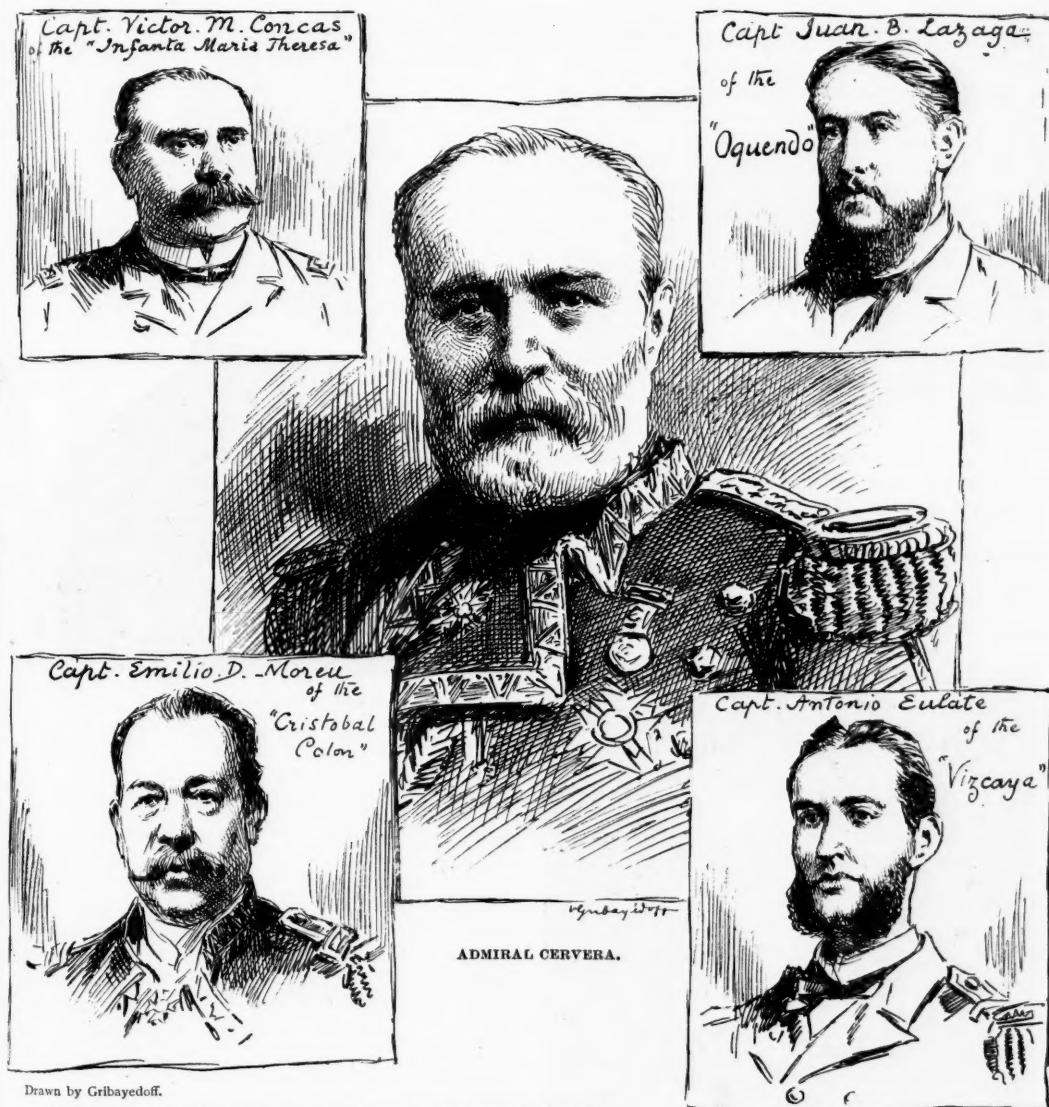
of George III., besotted and stolen from his home in the provinces or from the taverns along the wharves in the seaport towns, and carried aboard ship to lose his freedom forever. He is beaten without mercy for the slightest offense, and sometimes killed. Naturally these sailors desert at every opportunity, and numbers of them are said to have gotten away from the ships Spain



THE CRUISER "VIZCAYA."

(The *Vizcaya*, *Oquendo*, and *Infanta Maria Teresa* were of the same class and closely resembled one another.)

is the ceaseless round of target practice, which has done more than anything else to win this war—for the United States has believed in target practice above any other nation—and of drills afloat and ashore besides, meaningless rumors of which only reach the ear of the citizen. In time of peace the navy has been preparing with what scant materials Congress has granted it, and like



Drawn by Gribayedoff.

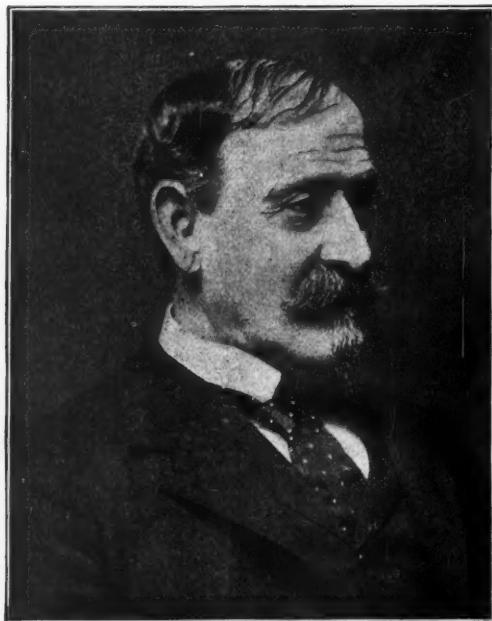
COMMANDERS OF THE SPANISH FLEET DESTROYED BEFORE SANTIAGO.

sent to our naval review in New York. Men who have been any time in such drudgery can have no self-respect nor *esprit de corps*, and it is not surprising they had to be filled with wine at Santiago and threatened with revolvers before they would go out to meet the Americans. Again, Spain's naval officers are appointed as a rule from the ranks of the nobility, just as were the colonial officers in Cuba and the Philippines, not because of their fitness to command a ship, but because the particular family of influence to which they belong wished it. And, lastly, the

lack of mechanical genius in the national character had compelled the government to employ on their warships English and Scotch engineers, all of whom, as a matter of course, gave up their places when it came to fighting their own race. Consequently the greater part of the engines and boilers were promptly ruined.

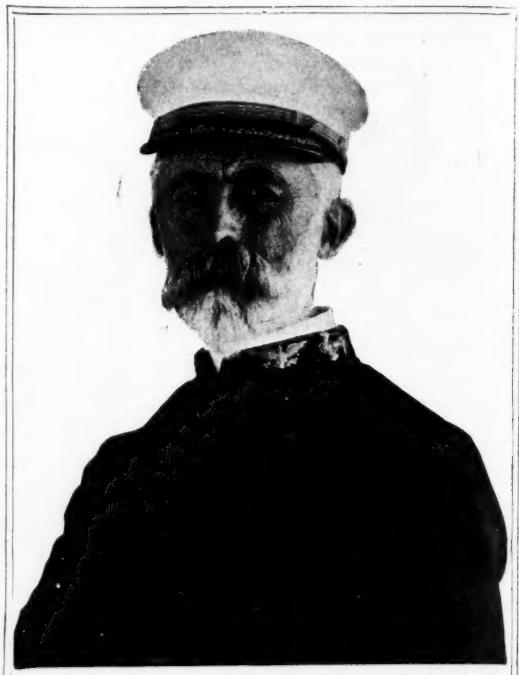
As for ships, it may be of interest to know that the Spanish Government, on paper at least, was not so badly equipped when the war began. Compared with the United States, they were rich in two very essential classes of vessels which we

lacked, the fast armored cruiser of the *Vizcaya* type, that is at once a commerce-destroyer and a battleship; powerful enough, if properly handled and manned, to meet any ship in our navy except our four largest battleships, and swift enough to run away from these. They had seven of them, all near of a size and armament. The second class consisted of the torpedo-boat destroyers, much vaunted by experts in Europe and America, until the very mention of them was sufficient to throw timid people into a hysteria. The name of this craft is somewhat misleading. They are in reality merely a logical development of the torpedo-boat, being larger and of greatly increased speed, more seaworthy, and carrying more rapid-fire guns than the smaller vessels. Spain had six of these fresh from the best English yards. In addition to these ships she has a number of protected and unprotected cruisers, unarmored, like ours, and of no great size; of gunboats, torpedo-gunboats and torpedo-boats. Some of them were in the Philippines and are now accounted for; some in Cuba and some at home. The lot might, under good management, have proved a considerable source of trouble to us. Then there is the *Pelayo*, the battleship with which Admiral Camara



COMMODORE W. S. SCHLEY.

has been cruising in the Suez Canal, which has been building for some dozen years, a large part of the appropriations for her having been depos-



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REAR ADMIRAL SAMPSON.

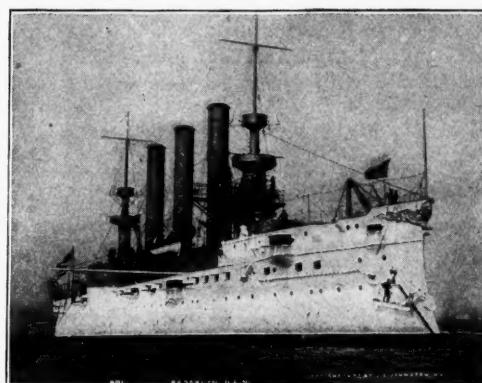
ited to the credit of the gentlemen who handled the money. She was recently modernized by friendly neighbors beyond the Pyrenees. The *Carlos V.*, a magnificent vessel about the size and type of our *New York* and *Brooklyn*; some converted merchant liners and two old broadside ironclads of 8 knots, the *Numancia* and the *Vitoria*.

There was no little anxiety in this country when it became known that Admiral Don Pascual de Cervera y Topete had sailed from the Canary Islands with what Admiral Colomb, the celebrated English expert, rightly called "four of the finest cruisers in the world" and "three of the latest kind of torpedo-boat destroyers." The combination was indeed sufficiently formidable to cause apprehension. Three of the vessels, the *Vizcaya*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, were 7,000 tons each, 340 feet in length, with the moderate draught of 21 feet 6 inches, with 12 inches of armor except at the gun positions, 10.5 inches, with a three-inch protected deck, and the remarkable speed of 20 knots. Each carried two high-power 11-inch guns, ten 5.5-inch (those of the *Vizcaya* alone of this size being rapid-fire), eight 2.2-inch, and eight 1.4-inch rapid-fire, two machine guns, and eight torpedo tubes. The fourth cruiser, the

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ships

Cristobal Colon, was of 6,840 tons, with a length of 328 feet and the same speed, a draught of 24 feet, had but six inches of armor and 1.5 of protective deck, and two 10-inch guns mounted in barbette instead of turrets. She had, however, ten 6-inch rapid-fire guns, six 4.7-inch, ten 1.4-inch, three machine guns, and five torpedo tubes. The coal capacity of all four was 1,200 tons. There is reason to believe, though at present I cannot find an authority for the statement, that their armor was not harveyized. It is also said to have been most emphatically stated by the captain of the *Cristobal Colon*, as well as by Admiral Cervera, that the ten-inch guns of this ship were still in the pocket of the Spanish minister of marine.

It certainly seemed, as far as material went, that Cervera had everything that could be wished. Since the *Oregon* was still rounding the South American continent, we had but three vessels in West Indian waters which his could not meet upon equal terms, the *Indiana*, *Iowa*, and *Massachusetts*, and they averaged three knots less than their trial trips. Our second-class battleship *Texas* with her 12-inch armor and displacement of 6,315 tons was about a match for the *Vizcaya* type in all save speed, where she fell over two knots short. It is true that she carries four twelve-inch guns, but the *Vizcaya* exceeded her largely in the six-inch class and in guns of smaller caliber. The monitors could never hope to get near the Spanish admiral. He had more than ample strength to give battle to any squadron of our cruisers that might oppose him, even though it might number in its composition the lightly armored *New York* and *Brooklyn*. And no better

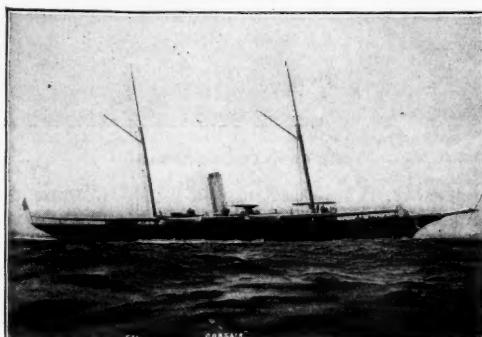


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THE UNITED STATES CRUISER "BROOKLYN."

When he was forced out of the Canaries on April 29 by Portugal's long-delayed proclamation Don Pascual had the world before him. There were any number of things he was expected to do. He could cut off and destroy the *Oregon*, for one; and he could bombard a coast city or two without fear of Commodore Schley's unarmored squadron at Hampton Roads. Or he could go to the West Indies and indulge himself to his heart's content in the favorite national pastime of hide and seek, run the blockades, and laugh at our eleven-thousand-ton battleships. And strategists on both sides of the Atlantic were mapping out campaigns for him.

It was not generally known at that time that the movements of Spanish squadrons are dictated not by naval, but by political, experts, and that the key to the whole matter lay in the internal condition of the peninsula itself. Sagasta and his associates were working with all their might, not to defeat the foreign enemy, but to be beaten by that enemy in such a manner as to save the throne for young Alphonso. They knew better than any one else, and from the outset, that defeat was inevitable, and squadrons and men were sacrificed without a qualm. It is very doubtful whether any one in power at Madrid, or even Admiral Don Pascual de Cervera y Topete himself, had any very clear idea what was to become of him and his when he left for America. It is impossible not to feel for Admiral Cervera. He seems to be a good man and a brave man, and has so far exhibited none of the traits of his nation. With only a week's full supply of provisions he was turned loose by his government quite as pitilessly as his fellow-countrymen are in the habit of pushing a magnificent bull into the ring, and his only instructions seem to have been to do anything rather than meet Admiral Sampson. The men who manned his

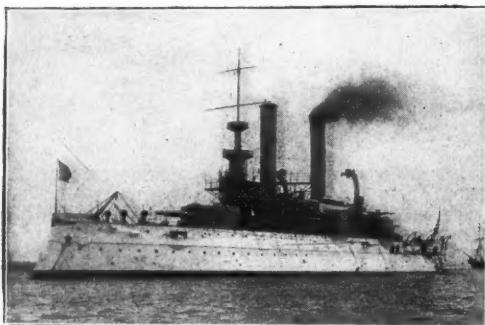


THE "GLOUCESTER."

(Converted yacht *Corsair*.)

vessels than his destroyers, with their twenty-eight-knot records for scouting, can be imagined; their swiftness and deadliness were his safeguard against being followed and watched by American ships.

squadron understood this, and the knowledge was not calculated to instill even a set of slaves with any great degree of enthusiasm. With apologies to Admiral Cervera, imagine the Duke of Alva or Medina Sidonia with a company of mediaevals in the turrets and engine-rooms of the



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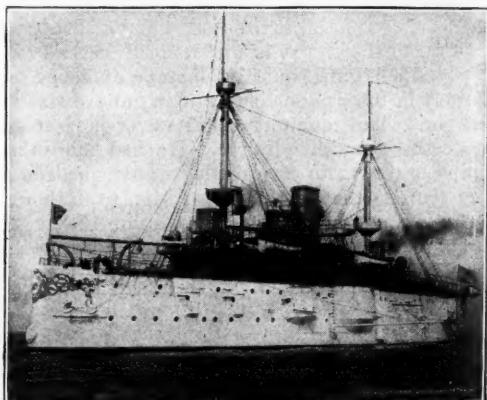
THE BATTLESHIP "IOWA."

Cristobal Colon, Almirante Oquendo, Vizcaya, and Infanta Maria Teresa short of food and coal, and we have something like the situation.

There is no time to trace in detail the various incidents which led up to the battle of Santiago. How Admiral Cervera was at first reported back in Cadiz, and on May 12 unexpectedly appeared at the French island of Martinique, where he received a budget from the news bureau established in Canada by the enterprise of Señor Polo y Bernabe. At Martinique he left the destroyer *Terror*, the ruin of her machinery having already been accomplished by her native engineers; how next he was heard from at Curaçoa, his ships high out of water and bargaining for a pittance of slack coal long condemned by the Dutch Government. In the meantime Admiral Sampson, creeping along the Haitian coast with his monitors and battleships on his return from the bombardment of San Juan, heard of the arrival of the Spanish squadron, and made all the haste he could to place himself in the Windward Passage in order to guard Havana. Schley had come down from Norfolk, and picking up a battleship or so at Key West was stationed in the other route of the Yucatan passage. But Cervera did not come. Presently, steaming cautiously along the southern Cuban coast, the commodore peeped into Cienfuegos and then pushed on to Santiago. We shall never forget that the harbor of this place is shaped like a bottle with the neck toward the sea, but a mucilage bottle would nearer express it, with a twisted neck, and the high hills prevent any ships inside from being seen from without.

Then ensued a period of conflicting rumors, of hopes rising and falling, of declarations and denials from Madrid and every island in the West Indies. Commodore Schley, not being a man to affirm before he is certain, was silent. But Lieut. Victor Blue had gone ashore, made his way over the wild mountains, and at the risk of his life had seen the Spanish fleet riding at anchor in the quiet bay.

But Cervera's fate, contrary to public opinion, was not yet decided. To use a vigorous expression, he was not to be *got at*, as nothing would have been easier than to sink with the mines the leaders of a squadron attempting the narrow entrance, and so obstruct the channel for those coming behind. The chances of the Spanish admiral's escape were very fair, for the season of violent tropical storms was at hand, one of which would have sufficed to scatter our fleet and enable him to put to sea. Then, too, a bold rush on a dark night with the destroyers at the head of his line concentrated at one point of ours might have had a partial success. Fully realizing the gravity of allowing even one of the Spanish vessels to

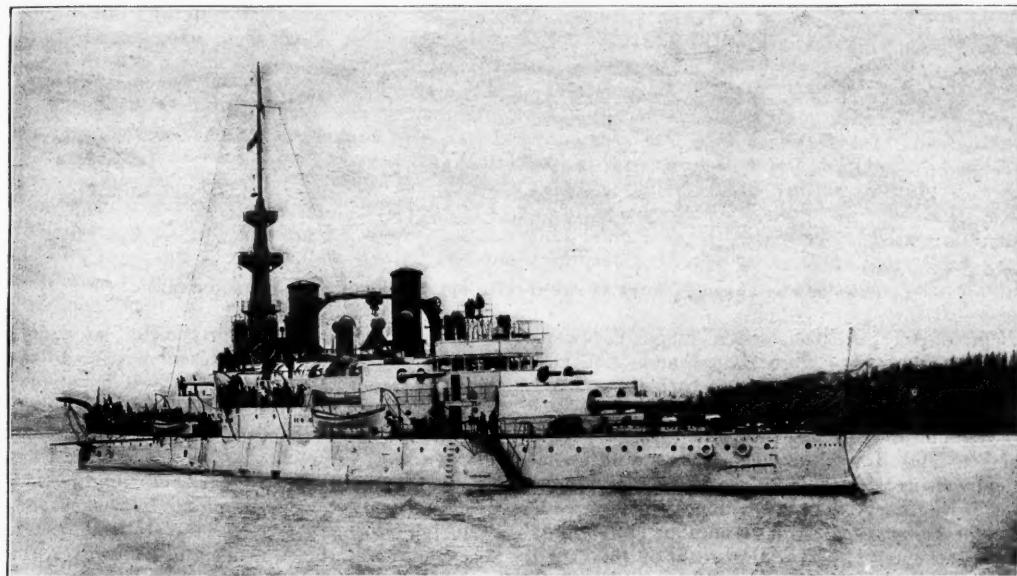


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THE BATTLESHIP "TEXAS."

get away, Admiral Sampson joined Commodore Schley with every available ship he could bring, and there began that campaign of weary waiting and unsleeping vigilance that told heavily on every man of the fleet, of unrelaxing responsibility that wore out the commanders.

No precautions dictated by bravery and prudence were omitted. The batteries were shelled repeatedly, and not without effect. Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson's feat of sinking the *Merrimac* in the narrowest part of the channel has kindled the pride of race in England and America. At this writing Mr. Hobson has just returned to a grateful nation, to tell us that as he steamed into the passage in the face of that



THE BATTLESHIP "OREGON."

dreadful fire the *Merrimac's* rudder was shot away, which prevented her from being swung, as was thought, clear across. But his sacrifice has not proved in vain, as the presence of the collier's hull restrained Admiral Cervera from making his attempt at night, when he would have had more chance of success. Next, 600 men of the marine corps were landed at Guantanamo, some forty miles west of Santiago and the nearest practicable harbor, and the three days and nights of hard fighting undergone by them, without sleep, during which they drove back a superior force of the enemy, has established the courage and efficiency of this branch of the service beyond a doubt. After that our fleet had a refuge in case of a hurricane.

But a Power that has ever fought on our side kept the seas calm.

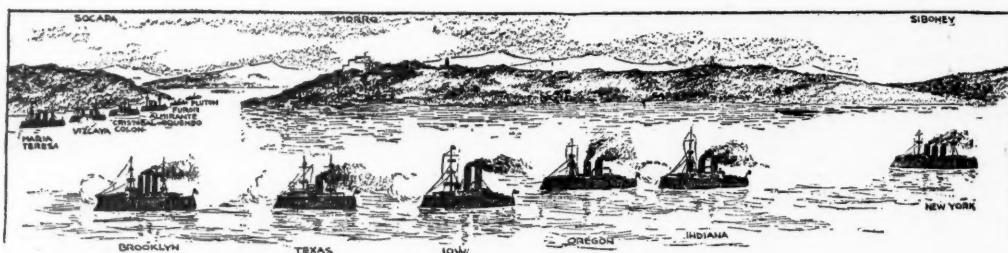
II.

On the morning of July 3 the American ships were at Sunday quarters, the formal ceremony of the week. Bright-work was cleaned, ditty-boxes stowed away, and the men stood in immaculate mustering clothes while the officers of divisions made the round of inspection with buckled swords. Afar, from the extreme right of the line, came the faint tinkle of three bells from the flagship *New York*, and was taken up ship by ship until it reached the *Brooklyn*, away to the westward, flying the pennant of Commodore Schley. Then the Sabbath stillness

was broken only by the swish of water against iron sides and the low tones of a captain questioning a man about a lanyard or an ensign discussing a gun. On the bridge stood the navigator, beside him the bronzed quartermaster sweeping the shore with his glass, and the meditating chaplain gazing at the clear-cut, sullen profile of the Morro across the water, breaking white in the dazzling sunlight.

Suddenly a quick movement from the quartermaster found a quicker reaction along the line of heads of the after divisions. The navigator seized his binoculars with a low cry, for a thin drift of smoke had lifted over the hills to the right of La Socapa. Then the messenger had called the captain—he already had his foot on the lower step of the bridge ladder—and the command "All hands clear ship for action!" rang out and was passed along man to man from poop to forecastle, the big gongs responding deep in the bowels of the ship.

There was no swearing, no gesticulation, no confusion. Long weeks and years of discipline and practice does not lead to these things; it teaches men that emergency in life is the rule and not the exception. Signal officers needed not to pick up their books for reference. "The enemy is coming out" in red and white and blue was tugging at every halyard from the little *Vixen* to the mighty *Iowa*, which had fired a warning three-pounder, and answering pennants on every yard-arm. The powder divisions were

From the New York *Herald*.

POSITION OF THE AMERICAN SHIPS AS THE SPANISH FLEET CAME OUT OF SANTIAGO HARBOR.

assembled on the lower decks, magazines were opened, and hoists were rigged and shot and shell were soon on their way to barbette and top and turret. Splinter nets were spread. In the ward-room the officers' mess-table was covered, buckets and drains in place, and the surgeons stood waiting with their knives in a long, shining row. Engineers were at their posts below reading the messages as though another hour might not see them scalded in the steam of their own boilers, and every rod and wheel of that Leviathan machinery was oiled and polished and ready and quickly turning at full speed. It was the massive *Oregon*, which had steamed the length of two oceans without breaking a valve, that first began to move.

The film of smoke above the hills had become a thick black mass, and then a warship was made out tearing for the open with the spray dashing high over her bows. Against the green of the sloping shore hung the red and yellow flag of Spain, and high on her masthead snapped the admiral's pennant. Scarcely had she cleared the channel before her helm was thrust hard apart, and she swept around in a great circle and started for her life down the coast. "The enemy is going west" signaled the *Vixen* at the first swerve of the bow, as she scuttled out of the *Brooklyn*'s fire, and the *Resolute* was already dashing off to Siboney, where the admiral was in conference with General Shafter. Another vessel shot out of the narrow way, then another and another, and then came the gleam of those peculiar white waves which naval men know so well belong to a torpedo-boat in full cry. Panting and throbbing like live things mad with terror the six ships, prides of the Spanish navy, were running for the open sea.

Don Quixote was tilting full speed at the windmill!

The intensity of that moment was too great to enable those who looked to grasp details, and it will probably be many weeks, if not months, before the correct records of the complex incidents which followed are obtainable. Newspaper ac-

counts and even official reports differ so widely that it is impossible at the present writing to sift the truth from the mass of letters, dispatches, etc., that have been published. The three cruisers *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, and *Vizcaya* were so much alike that they could not be identified at any distance, but the *Cristobal Colon* was easily distinguishable by a mast between her two pipes. Even her place in the original column is a subject of dispute. However, the probable order in which the Spanish squadron appeared is the following: The *Maria Teresa* led, flying Cervera's flag, followed by the *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and *Almirante Oquendo* in the sequence given, and lastly by the two destroyers. Although the Spanish officers who were sent to Portsmouth stated that the *Colon* had started last of the four cruisers, the official report of the *Vixen* places her third, and the above order seems to tally most exactly with what occurred afterward.

It also seems perfectly clear that by reason of their positions the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, *Iowa*, and *Oregon* lying from four to six thousand yards off the mouth of the harbor, were the only vessels besides the yachts to oppose the enemy. They were amply sufficient. With the best disposition in the world the *Indiana* never really got into the fight, being too far to the eastward; the *New York* was off Siboney and the *Massachusetts* was coaling at Guantanamo. It was evident that if the Spaniards were to be met at all it was to be ship for ship.

Little expecting such good fortune, our fleet was nevertheless prepared for this occasion. To the extreme west of the fighting line lay the *Brooklyn*, Captain Cook, Commodore Schley's flagship; to the extreme east was the *New York*, and these two were the most powerful of our fast ships. Whichever direction the Spanish admiral might choose, the arrangement was perfect. Chance sent Don Pascual into the arms of the officer who upheld American honor in Chili and the Orient, who cleared the Congo of pirates, who rescued Greely from the frozen North—

Commodore Winfield Scott Schley. And he proved more than equal to the occasion.

There was no time to wait for the orders that every captain knew by heart. Admiral Sampson had said: "If the enemy tries to escape, the ships must close and engage him as soon as possible and endeavor to sink his vessels or force them ashore." This order was brief and explicit and was carried out to the very letter.

Next the *Brooklyn* came the *Texas*, Captain Philip, then the *Iowa*, Captain Evans, and the *Oregon*, Captain Clark. With buglers sounding "General quarters" and an-nunciators beating "Full speed ahead," without collision or fouling they bore down upon the enemy as though his coming had been no surprise at all. After them steamed the *Indiana*. The *Oregon* gathered head-way so fast that she passed the *Iowa* and the *Texas* and edged in after the *Brooklyn*. Cutting a foaming wake away to the right, under the cliffs of Morro, was the little converted yacht *Gloucester*, formerly Mr. J. P. Morgan's *Corsair*, and perhaps her captain was a trifle more eager than any other to get at the Spaniards. He was none other than Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wain-

wright, who had been executive officer of the *Maine* when she was blown up in Havana bay, and he was looking for the *Pluton* and the *Furor*. The fact that the *Gloucester* was no match for either of them singly did not bother Mr. Wainwright. With a quiet word of satisfaction that spoke volumes to a fellow-officer on the bridge he sent the yacht for all that was in her straight for the harbor's mouth.

There was a period of breathless waiting for the battle to begin, but it was not long before the Spaniards opened with their long guns, sending up the water in great columns around our ships, though doing little else. They were promptly backed up by the Morro and the batteries not disabled in bombardment, and their aim was chiefly directed at the center and east of our fleet, undoubtedly in the hope of cutting off some of the vessels which would otherwise join in the chase. The first shot fired in the action was from the forward turret of the *Maria Teresa*, an eleven-inch shell directed at the *Brooklyn*. Our ships were closing up rapidly, and they were not

slow to respond, one of the first shells thrown by the *Indiana* in return falling squarely on the *Teresa's* deck. The *Brooklyn*, rushing headlong for their line with a superb disregard for superiority, tackled without hesitation the *Teresa* and the *Vizcaya*. On she pressed until the smoke from the three ships mingled and the noise of their guns became a continuous roar. Captain Eulate's ship flew from her masthead a large silk flag embroidered by the ladies of the province of Vizcaya. It was being torn to ribbons, so he hauled it down and replaced it with another.

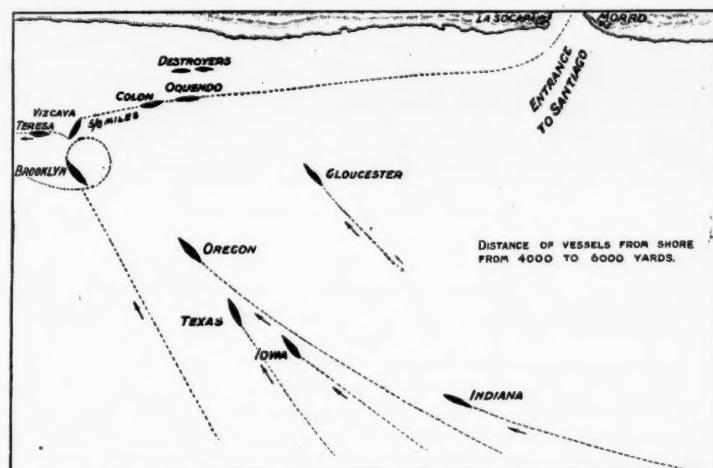
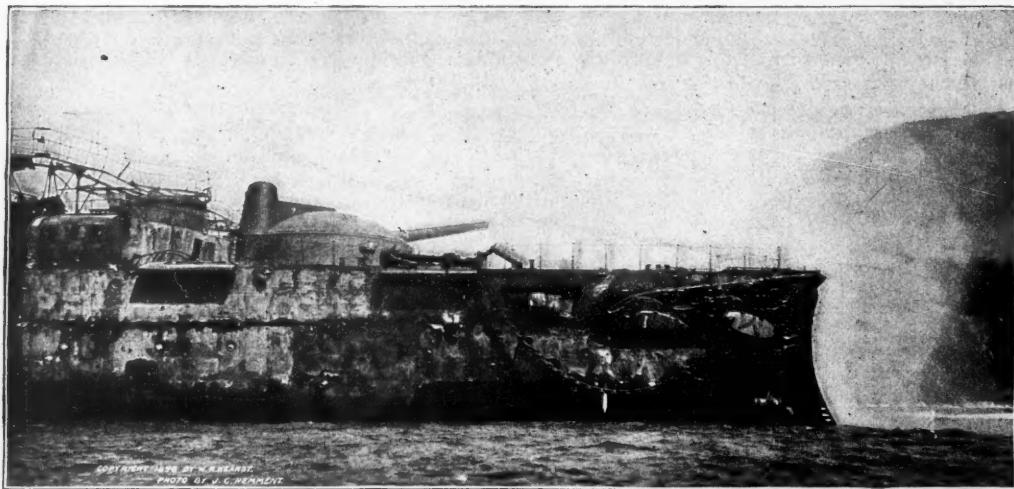


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE AMERICAN AND SPANISH VESSELS WHEN THE "VIZCAYA" ATTEMPTED TO RAM THE "BROOKLYN."

The American flagship could still be seen heading shoreward when the bows of the *Vizcaya* gave a suspicious lurch, and those watching held their breaths, for they knew she was preparing to ram. But the commodore was not to be caught so. The enemy was met by a storm of shot that blinded him, and raking the *Vizcaya* as she passed, the *Brooklyn* swung with a port helm in a great arc of twelve points until she was headed westward and had brought the *Vizcaya* and *Teresa* on her starboard bow. This was as pretty a maneuver as ever went to show the sagacity of an American commander in battle.

Naval officers who were there declare that the most inspiring sight of that day was the *Oregon* rushing to the help of the flagship. A glamor has hung over this battleship ever since the war began, and it has been the pride of the nation to follow her from her home in the Pacific around Cape Horn to fight the nation's battles. As she approached the Spaniards her high bow wave told of a speed that dismayed them. The big thirteen-inch guns in her forward turret were speaking



THE "MARIA TERESA" AFTER THE BATTLE.

rapidly and with accuracy ; in the after turret machinists were mending a slight break in one of the guns while the one beside it was being served and fired over the ship's deck.

This was without question the most critical juncture of the action ; on it hung the reputation of a service and of a nation. For the Spanish ships were supposed on the best of authority to be at least three knots faster than any battleship we had. At the outset the hope of those upon whose shoulders the blame would fall was to cripple the enemy at a distance, and some of the most remarkable target practice ever indulged in took place about 10 o'clock on that morning. The Spaniards were struck again and again by our battleships in the offing, and the effect of this on the final result cannot be underestimated. The enemy were not yet limping, however, and when it was seen that not only the *Oregon*, but even the *Texas* and the *Iowa* were gaining on the dons, a wild exultation got into our men, even into the naked stokers in the burning fire-rooms, and they poured in the coal and sent the steam higher and higher.

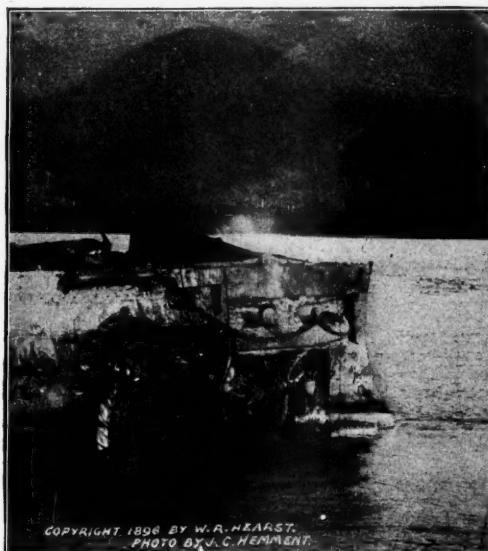
The *Oregon* began sheering to the west. She was engaging the sternmost cruiser, but for a space only they kept along together, and she passed on to leave the *Quendo* to the *Texas* and *Iowa*. Then, like the first trickling of blood from a wounded antagonist, the men of the *Brooklyn* running with the van of the Spanish column saw a tell-tale wisp of smoke rising from the poop of the *Maria Teresa*. It was the beginning of the end.

At half-past 10 the ships were too busy to

strike the bells. Stifling white clouds had settled over the water, lifting only to disclose some vessel with a sash of flame around her and straining every nerve. Mighty sounds echoing back from the Santiago mountains mingled with the noise of the light batteries, like a policeman's rattle. The hot breeches of the great guns and the tropical sun beating on the steel tops of the turrets started the sweat in white furrows down the grimy faces and bare backs of the gunners and wet the sanded decks. Shot could be heard striking the ships, exploding with terrific sharpness in the air above or with a muffled roar between the decks below. Now and anon anxious inquiry passed from the bridge to the palpitating depths underneath and from crew to crew, but always the cheery cry "All right!" came back above the din of battle.

It was a proud hour for Captain Philip. Since before the war, since the time she sunk a schooner at her dock trial, the *Texas* had been the butt of funny people all over the United States. They sneered when her sea-valve collapsed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard and she settled a couple of feet, and told her to fill up with Ivory soap. But the Spaniards thought better of her when she twisted the guns of their land batteries out of shape, and they had special instructions to sink her if she came within range. To give them credit, they did their best. Indeed, the good old ship must have astonished herself as she overhauled the *Quendo*. As she closed nearer and nearer Captain Philip and his aids stood coolly on her bridge until the range became deadly, and scarcely had they reached

the conning tower before a shot tore through the wheel-house which would have killed them all. The *Iowa* was close behind. One huge shell had gone off on her berth deck, starting a fire that was quickly controlled by the fire division. Others struck her on the water-line, but the cellulose in the coffer-dam swelled and kept out the water until the patent leak-stoppers could be



THE BOW OF THE RUINED "VIZCAYA."

put on. Yet another found a bed in her armor without going off, a guest, by the way, that caused some embarrassment when the fright was over. Just as these two ships got well into the chase the destroyers made a dash for them, but the command "Repel torpedo-boat attack" was caught up, the secondary batteries were turned on, the *Oregon* joining in, until the water around the *Pluton* and *Furor* looked like a mill-pond in a violent hail-storm.

They doubled and ran under the lea of the land, Wainwright after them, the enemy's rapid-fire guns "cutting the *Gloucester's* hair." How they contrived to miss the yacht will always remain one of the miracles of Spanish gunnery. The crews of the destroyers were fighting gamely, too, and aiming at their particular black beast. But the *Gloucester* never swerved a foot, and her captain seemed entirely unaware that his decks were drenched by the Spanish shell. His eyes were on the two scurrying forms ahead, and his shot followed them.

Suddenly—and such things seem to happen in battle in a marvelous and inscrutable way—the

foremost destroyer was seen to pause, stagger like some mortally wounded animal, and then to start uncertainly for shore. A great ball, black and white, smoke and steam, went up from her pipes, and she settled before she made the rocks, leaving her men struggling black specks in the water. The shot is credited to Ensign Gise, of the *Texas*. Then the *Pluton*, despairing, turned, in the vain hope of getting back to Santiago, only to run into the *Gloucester*, which sunk her with such dispatch that she barely touched the beach. And this was but five miles from the Morro.

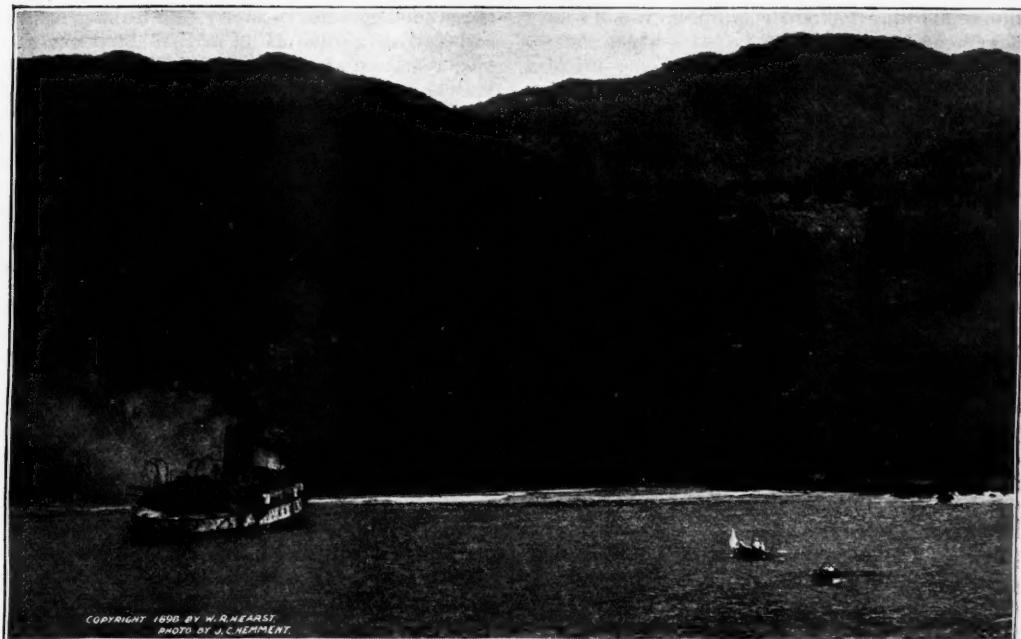
Mr. Wainwright was the first officer to begin that day the work of mercy. He had done his part, a glorious part, in avenging the *Maine*, and when his enemies were helpless he was prompt to give them aid. His boats were quickly lowered to rescue the living and to protect those who had reached the shore from irresponsible bodies of Cubans in the woods. This done, he hurried on after the battle which was still fiercely raging between the larger ships. He had need to hurry, for things of momentous importance were happening behind the smoke.

The *Maria Teresa*, though showing signs of distress, had kept on, and the *Brooklyn*, running a clean wake a mile abeam, pounded her unceasingly, sparing more than one shell to the *Vizcaya* for her ugly intentions. But the *Oregon* had now fallen heir to Eulate's ship and was seemingly having no trouble in dropping a choice collection of shells, some of them weighing over half a ton, aboard of her. For some time, however, our captains had been scenting a situation now about to develop, and which perhaps was apparent from the very first to the keen-eyed little *Vixen*, barking and watching the fight outside of the *Brooklyn*. It was plain to them that the *Cristobal Colon* was to be the Gordian knot; her captain, Emilio Diaz Moreu, was reputed the ablest commander in the Spanish fleet, and he had been attending strictly to getting away and had reserved his fire. At first the *Cristobal* had been separated from the *Vizcaya* about three-quarters of a mile; now she had closed the gap and had edged well inshore of her column, and opened up all at once with her smokeless powder at the *Oregon*. Captain Clark saw the danger and had a talk with the engineer-room, and the great gray ship, sound in wind and limb, responded to the call like a noble horse that feels the spurs. The strength of a nation that knows no defeat was in her frames, and the pride of that nation fought her guns and guided her with a sure hand.

It was then that the alpha and omega of the Spanish line began to totter. One by one the



THE "ALMIRANTE OQUENDO."
(Showing her condition after the battle.)



THE "ALMIRANTE OQUENDO."

(Two small boats in foreground going from American ships to take prisoners just after the battle.)

guns of the *Teresa* became dumb; smoke and flame burst out beside the great turret that guarded her after deck. Slower and slower she moved, swerving now to the right, now to the left, now to the right again, and headed blindly for the rocky coast, the *Brooklyn* raking her as she swept on, the *Oregon* raking her until down dropped the arms that had waved for centuries from castle and truck and up went the white flag of surrender. And far astern, with the fire of destruction eating her vitals, the *Oquendo*'s crew, no longer thinking of their guns, in a terrified bunch behind her superstructure beheld the fate of their admiral. Over went her helm, her ensign halyards were reversed, and the *Ericsson*, which had raced all the way from Siboney with a war-headed torpedo in her bow, passed her as she drove high upon the reef, a smoldering ruin with a blanket waving from her forecastle.

In consternation at the terrible work of these sailors and ships of the young republic, but resolved like the people to which she belonged to die hard, the *Vizcaya* still held her course. To sink, even to injure a vessel of the enemy was all that her captain asked, and he sent the men to the turrets time and again, only to be blinded and smothered and killed. But when the heat

was broiling them and the escaping steam was burning them to death the *Vizcaya*, too, was turned landward, groping for the entrance to Acerraderos. She found the reef instead, and now lies to mark the limit of American conquest gained by the fall of Santiago.

It was then only seven minutes past 11 o'clock, and all save one of the Spanish ships had been surrendered or destroyed.

But the *Colon*, shaking herself clear, made a desperate dash for freedom, trusting in some turn of the luck to rid herself of the *Brooklyn* and outrun the heavy battleships, for the *Oregon* and the *Texas* hung to the chase. It was the simple story of the Anglo-Saxon against the Latin over again, or more specifically of clean machinery and boilers and self-respecting engineers. The figures were: *Oregon*, speed 16.8 knots; *Texas*, speed 17.8 knots; *Cristobal Colon*, speed 20 knots. Making an equal allowance for foul bottoms, which is more than fair to Spain, the fact that our two battleships were in at the finish would certainly be a puzzling one were it not for the key. Some fifty miles west of Santiago the *Cristobal* was forced ashore, and surrendered at twenty-three minutes after 1.

In the meantime the *New York*, with all her boilers in commission, had been racing westward

all the morning. After a magnificent run of nearly four hours she overtook the ships which had so faithfully followed and destroyed the Spanish squadron in time to see the last vestige of it disappear.

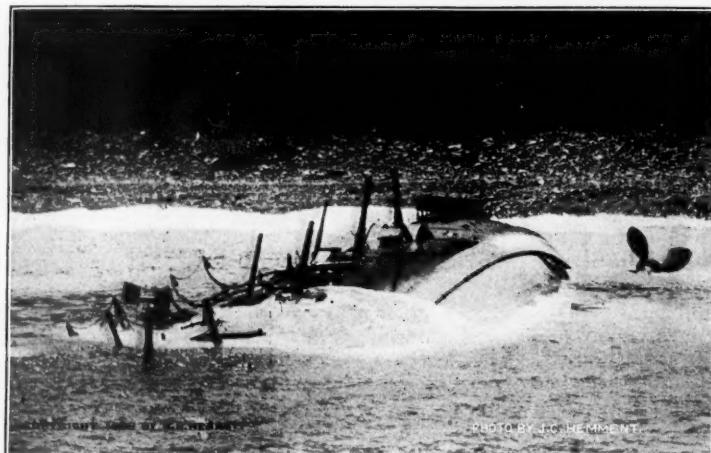
III.

The brightest side of the simple character of our American sailor—the side upon which the people love best to dwell—is his tenderness, his bigness of heart. His strong arm is ever ready to sustain the helpless. Even in times of peace rarely a week passes aboard the ships that death is not braved to save a comrade. Some of this reaches the press, but the most of it does not. Could the short life be written of Ensign Breckinridge, who was swept off the *Cushing* as she was going to Havana before the war and died after his rescue, many a gilt-edged biography would pale in comparison. But three years out of the Academy, he had taken six drowning men from the sea. Once, when he was standing on the deck of the *Texas*, the ammunition hoist gave way and the shot began falling into the powder. From the edge of the hatch Mr. Breckinridge threw himself at the running bunch of strands and was carried around and around until his clothes were torn from his body and his hands and arms were stripped and bleeding. But there was no explosion. And he was one of many. The charity that belittles all else is the creed of ward-room and steerage and forecastle, where the man without money is he who has the most.

Is it a wonder, then, that at Santiago the miserable Spanish crews were saved by those whom they sought to destroy? As our men pulled shoreward to the rescue the smoke from the burning ships darkened the sun, and where the paint had peeled the armor plate showed the whitish-pink color of hot iron in daylight. Guns left loaded were sending their shots in every direction, and every few minutes a dull roar from below and a shower of burning powder-grains, like a flower-pot, told of a magazine overtaken. Struggling in the water or dragging themselves up the beach were all the Spaniards who could get off, and they had left their wounded comrades to their fate. The American officers and men climbed the ladders and went into

these burning hells, tenderly lifted the groaning and despairing sailors from the hot decks, and bore them out of the stifling smoke to their own vessels. Admiral Cervera, when taken from a raft near his flagship, in vain begged Lieutenant Huse, of the *Gloucester*, not to enter the *Maria Teresa*, where the fire was near the powder. On the *Vizcaya*, all except those in the water or the cravens, who, fearing to leap, swung frantically by the boats' falls, were broiled to death before the *Ericsson* and the cutters from the *Iowa* could reach her. The ship's *padré*, when taken aboard the torpedo-boat, nonchalantly refused to get up from a chest which was needed for the wounded, and was promptly thrown off by Ensign Edie.

It is a pleasure to record that some of the Spaniards behaved magnificently. When taken aboard the *Iowa* the junior surgeon of the *Vizcaya* refused to have his wounds bound until his men were cared for. One of the young officers insisted on mounting the sea-ladder alone, and with his left arm dangling from his side he saluted the deck with his right as he touched it. The guard was paraded for Captain Eulate as, suffering in mind and body, he was half carried aft. With a sad fondness he kissed his sword and surrendered it hilt forward, and tears of grati-



THE WRECK OF THE "COLON."

tude rolled down his cheeks when Captain Evans refused it with a bluff gesture and seized his hand instead. Captain Eulate will never forget that, nor the cheer the crew of the big battleship gave him, and by virtue of their captain's chivalry he still wore the sword when he reached Portsmouth, and was seen more than once on the trip to give it an affectionate caress.

The Spanish loss on that Sunday was in the neighborhood of 300 killed and 150 wounded and 1,800 captured. The captain of the *Almirante Oquendo*, following the example of another Spanish commander off the Chilean coast some thirty years ago, committed suicide. Of the cruisers the *Colon* suffered least, but the twisted and shattered wrecks of the other three and of the destroyers make it seem miraculous that any aboard them could have escaped alive. Great, gaping wounds in their sides disclosed sights too horrible to mention. The *Vizcaya*'s bows were blown out by her own torpedoes, and the raking shell from the *Brooklyn* had killed and wounded 80 men in its flight. The *Teresa* lost one of her military masts, the *Oquendo* both of hers. The present indications seem to be that the *Colon* and the *Teresa* may be saved. After the former ship had surrendered her sea-valves were treacherously opened; the *New York* with her great nose pushed her carefully into shoal water, where she sank.

The board of naval officers which examined the Spanish hulls has made the important recommendation that no torpedoes shall henceforth be carried on cruisers and battleships, on the ground that the large ships have small chance to use them effectively in battle, and as being more dangerous to friend than foe. Naval constructors are again reiterating that little or no wood shall be used in war vessels; the smoke from it is peculiarly suffocating, and nothing is quicker to demoralize the men at the guns; that there should be some adequate protection for the fire-mains, which were ruptured on the Spanish ships almost simultaneously with the starting of the fire. As bearing upon this one officer from the *Teresa* gives a graphic account in the *New York Herald* of the state of affairs during the fight: "A shell from the *Brooklyn* went into the admiral's cabin and set fire to the after part of the ship. A shell from the *Texas* pierced our side armor and exploded in the engine-room, bursting the main steam-pipe. We signaled the engineer to start the pumps, but got no reply, and then found that all below in that part of the ship had been killed. At that time it was like hell on our bridge."

The American loss was 1 man killed, George Henry Ellis, of the *Brooklyn*, and 1 wounded. On the *Texas* a landsman was flung down a hatch by the concussion when the twelve-inch guns were trained over the decks; he broke his arm. Although our vessels were struck repeatedly, the *Brooklyn* thirty-six times, the shots were principally from the secondary batteries. Marvelous to say, the heavy shells that pierced exploded inside the ships without loss of life, and the fire they started was quickly controlled.

The victory in its racial, moral, and material aspects reminds one irresistibly of that over the Spanish Armada. But it has no dark spot upon it. The Spaniards were fed and clothed by the Americans, their wounded were tended by our surgeons, their dead wrapped in their own flag and buried with all the honors of war. Nor by word or deed was any one of the prisoners reminded of his humiliation.

Some curious and interesting facts were volunteered by Admiral Cervera and his officers. It was, of course, particularly desired to know why he came out of Santiago. The reason he gave was that he preferred to lose his ships at sea like a sailor than to have them ignobly destroyed in a land-locked harbor. But it is to be feared that the admiral is trying to shield his government, for it is scarcely possible that the judgment and humanity with which American officers credit him could have dictated any such course. The truth is that he was repeatedly ordered out by Madrid and that he and his men were sacrificed on the altar of politics. The last and imperative order came on July 2, and he would have made the attempt that night had not the Americans inconsiderately neglected to illuminate the passage with their search-lights, and he could not pass the *Merrimac* in the dark. On Sunday morning the Morro signaled that the *Brooklyn* and the *Texas* were the only large ships west of the entrance. Lieutenant Sharpe's report, from the *Vixen*, states that the strong current had sent all the ships somewhat to the eastward of their positions. Admiral Cervera decided that the Americans would be having church, and giving his captains instructions to concentrate their fire on the *Brooklyn* and to try to disable her, he started out. The prisoners frankly admitted that they had been amazed by the rapidity and deadliness of the American fire, and said that the light batteries of our ships had driven them from their guns again and again. Most of the prisoners were overwhelmed with astonishment at the kind treatment they received.

It is not likely that this battle will teach a great deal to strategists or reveal much besides Spanish inefficiency and that the Anglo Saxon is still a great sea-fighter. Torpedo-boat destroyers, in spite of the wretched handling the Spaniards gave them, appear to have lost ground, for it would seem that a large number of these craft will be necessary to do any damage to a watchful fleet of ships manned by expert gunners. British critics are now convinced that our overgunned vessels will not turn bottom upward from their own fire. And, what is less important, M. Marc Landry and other French gentlemen of pro-Spanish tendencies have been silenced.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF SANTIAGO.

BY JOHN A. CHURCH.

THE first campaign of the army in Cuba has lasted a month and is in every respect as brilliant and, except in the severe losses we have experienced, as fortunate as the remarkable successes of the navy. We have won a decided victory and obtained the surrender of one tenth of the soil of Cuba, with two fine harbors and 20,000



MAJ.-GEN. WILLIAM R. SHAFTER.

(Commanding the United States troops before Santiago.)

or 25,000 of the Spanish troops. Strange as it may seem, this is the first campaign ever fought by the regular army of the United States with volunteers assisting. In all our other wars the volunteers have formed the principal strength of the army, in which the regulars played a subordinate part numerically, however distinguished in conduct.

The month of June is notable for the first landing of troops in Cuba and the first land battles of the war. On the 10th of that month a body of marines, about 600 strong, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Huntington, landed without opposition at Guantanamo, a fine port about fifty miles east of Santiago Bay. It is the most easterly of the good harbors on the south coast of Cuba. Camp was established on a hill overlooking the bay, and there the marines were attacked on the 11th by a force of Spaniards said to number more than 1,500 men, who were driven off after a sharp fight. At first there

were stories of carelessness in picketing the camp, but our subsequent experience at Santiago has shown that the thick and thorny underbrush of the Cuban soil gives remarkable advantages to a wily and creeping foe. It presents conditions of scout and picket duty that seem to be somewhat novel, for even our regulars, many of whom have fought the Indians, had to learn its peculiarities by experience and at some loss. Fighting was more or less constant until the 14th, when we made our counter attack and drove off the enemy once for all time. Our losses were 6 killed and 10 wounded. The Spaniards seem to have lost 100 or more.

After the last fight the troops moved camp to a more defensible position, which we have held ever since in peace. It has proved to be a remarkably healthy place, only one or two cases of sickness occurring among the 1,000 men we have there now. This camp is named Camp McCalla, after the commander of the *Marblehead*.

This was our first experience of wounds made with the small-caliber, swift-moving, long-range bullets, and their shattering effects gave rise to stories that the enemy were using explosive bullets, but wounded Spaniards show that our own Krag-Jörgensen rifle produces the same effects. The Spanish volunteers shoot a 45-caliber brass-tipped bullet which may produce poisonous ef-



GENERAL LINARES.

(The Spanish commander at Santiago, wounded in battle.)

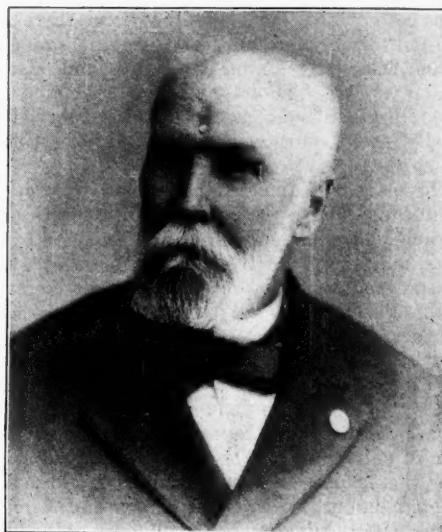
fects when the brass strips and remains in the wound.

The Cubans gave us effective aid in these fights and lost heavily. Thirty of their wounded were cared for on our hospital ship, the *Solace*. They were about 1,000 strong at Guantanamo.

Subsequent events have made clear the object and wisdom of landing at Guantanamo. The opposition encountered there was not, and was not expected to be, serious, and since the first four days we have occupied the bay in peace. It gave us at once a retreat for our vessels in case of storm, the only objection to which was that if a storm arose severe enough to send our ships to shelter Admiral Cervera might take the chance of flight, defying the dangers of the sea. Now that that risk has been disposed of our fleet has enjoyed a practicable refuge for transports for a month past, an advantage we could not have secured so easily at the more strongly defended port of Santiago. Undoubtedly the occupation of Guantanamo was good strategy.

General Shafter, after many trying delays, left Tampa, Fla., on June 14, with a fleet of thirty-five transports carrying 16,000 men and convoyed by fourteen warships. It was the largest expedition in our history and the largest anywhere since the Crimean War, forty-four years ago. The voyage was made slowly to allow all the transports to keep with the fleet, which did not arrive off Santiago until June 20. The use of steam exclusively permitted the fleet to move with a uniformity of alignment that probably has

on each flank of the transports, and the whole fleet covered the sea for eight miles in length and one in breadth. Sailing along the north coast of

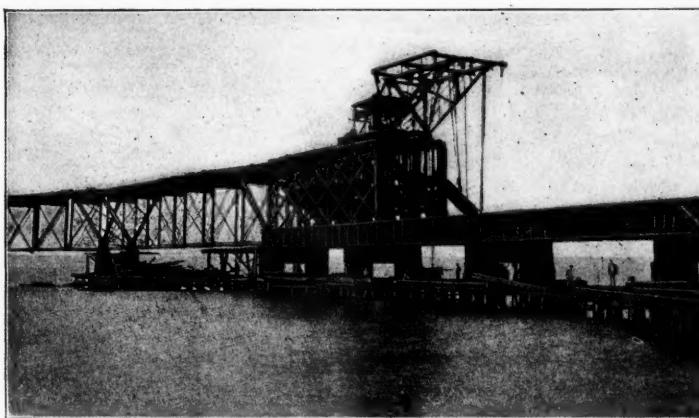


GEN. CALIXTO GARCIA.

(In command of the Cuban forces in the vicinity of Santiago.)

Cuba, it rounded Cape Maysi, the eastern extremity of the island, and turned westward along the south coast to the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, which it reached at noon on June 20. The weather was excellent throughout the voyage.

On the 22d the landing was made, and Admiral Sampson's order issued the day before disclosed the following plan of operations: A strong feint of landing was made at Cabañas, two and a half miles west of Santiago Bay, where the Spaniards had one of their most effective batteries. The *Texas*, *Scorpion*, and *Vixen* ran in and engaged this battery, while ten of the transports, ranged two miles from the shore, occupied themselves busily in lowering



LANDING-PLACE OF AMERICAN TROOPS AT BAIQUIRI.

not been seen since the old days of galleys. The transports moved in three lines, 1,000 feet apart and with an interval of 600 feet between the ships of each line. War vessels were stationed

boats and hoisting them on board again. At the same time a body of 500 Cubans made a demonstration west of the place. All this was done to draw the attention of the Spaniards away from

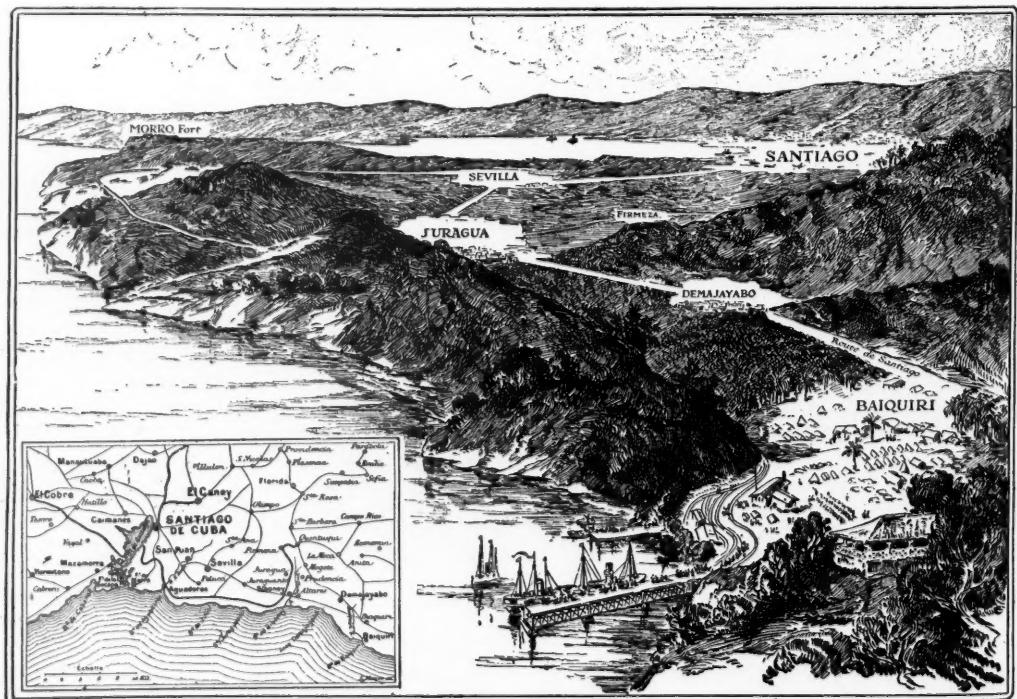
the coast east of Santiago Bay, where, at Baiquiri, Altares, and Aguadores, other ships of the fleet were engaged in shelling the shore. The actual landing took place at Baiquiri, twelve miles east of the bay. At that point there is a well-built iron pier 500 feet long, the property of an American mining company, and also a wooden dock. The dock was an invaluable aid in landing, and the iron pier afterward served an equally useful purpose in landing the artillery and stores.

Three small steamers were ordered to prepare for towing boats. Each had two tow-lines, one on each side, long enough for a dozen or more boats, and the latter were drawn both from the transports and from seven of the largest vessels in the fleet. Also all the steam cutters and launches from the latter vessels were sent to assist. These arrangements were so well planned and carried out that 6,000 men and considerable necessary stores were landed the first day without accident, forming a scene that is described as most enlivening. The Spaniards did not oppose the landing seriously, and the only losses suffered on our side were 1 Cuban and 1 man, on the *Texas*, killed and 8 wounded. All of the American losses were caused by one shell fired

from the Socapa battery, on the west side of Santiago Bay, which was engaged by the *Texas*.

Our Cuban allies aided the operations materially. They had been supplied with arms and ammunition, and besides the demonstration at the west flank of our operations, they held the country on the east, between Santiago and Guantanamo. They numbered in all about 5,700 men. During the next two days the remainder of the force was landed, with artillery and a large quantity of ammunition and stores, but two men were crushed by boats and killed.

The steadiness and freedom from loss with which this disembarkation of an army proceeded should not blind us to the fact that it was a hazardous operation carried out upon a coast well guarded by fortifications and in the face of an enemy who has since shown himself to be possessed of fighting qualities of a very high order. In preparing to resist insurgent attacks the Spaniards have built innumerable blockhouses along the coast, and the presence of our fleet in this neighborhood for a month or more had led them to increase these means of defense by batteries and trenches. It was known that in this part of Cuba there were from 15,000 to 30,000 Spanish troops, besides the men of Admiral Cervera's



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW AND MAP OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN BAIQUIRI AND SANTIAGO DE CUBA.



MAP SHOWING THE FIRST ADVANCE OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS ON SANTIAGO.

squadron, and there was every reason to believe that our landing would be resisted hotly. Later we found that every road to Santiago had been intrenched, and it is probable that the Spaniards expected to oppose us at the seashore, but we exhibited a strength that it was hopeless to combat. The most powerful fleet the world has ever seen in fighting trim was gathered on the coast of Cuba and covered it for twenty miles with a steady fire which could have risen to destructive proportions at any point where it was needed.

Much confusion in the early accounts of the operations was caused by the fact that one name is often used on the Cuban coast for two distinct places, first for a town which may be from one to three miles inland, and, second, for a point on the coast where the landing-place for that town is established. Thus Demajayabo, the inland town, and Enseñada Demajayabo, the bay which forms the landing nearest to the town. Baiquiri, Juragua, and Aguadores all have the same double significance. Baiquiri is a village about one and a half miles from the landing-place of the same name and seventeen miles from Santiago. Back of it is a high plateau and beyond that a road which we expected to find practicable for artillery, but which proved to be in bad condition. Our troops moved up from the landing to Baiquiri village, and in fact to Demajayabo,

two miles northwest of that place, the day they landed, and some of them were able to sleep under roof the first night, as the enemy had evacuated these places too hastily to destroy them entirely. From Demajayabo the road runs through Altares Juraguasito, and Sevilla to Santiago.

Besides the main landing at Baiquiri, two other landing-places on the coast between Santiago Bay and Baiquiri were occupied. These are Siboney, where the iron company's railroad reaches the sea, and Aguadores, within two or three miles of Morro Castle, where the railroad leaves the coast and turns in toward Santiago. Here it crosses a high iron trestle and bridge, which was blown up by the Spaniards and which is also covered by some of the best-manned batteries of the enemy. Under these conditions no serious attempt was made to follow up the line of the railroad.

The day after landing the troops moved forward from Demajayabo to Juragua, on the railroad, and a little beyond this place the Spaniards suddenly appeared in some force, but were driven back by our advance force of Americans and Cubans.

From Juragua the column advanced toward Sevilla, and a mile and a half east of this town, at La Guasima, our troops felt the first serious



Photo by J. D. Hammett.

Copyright by W. R. Hearst.

THE THIRTEENTH INFANTRY ON THE MARCH, JULY 1.

resistance of the Spaniards and suffered their first loss. Our force, 924 strong, was commanded by Colonel Young and consisted of parts of the Twenty-third United States Infantry, First and Tenth United States Cavalry, and First Volunteer Cavalry, the latter being commonly known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." The latter formed the left of the line, the regulars being on the right. The attack was made by our men at daylight, and after an hour's sharp fighting the enemy gave way. In this action the troops were obliged to charge a superior and well-posted force supplied with two machine guns, supposed to have been obtained from Admiral Cervera's fleet. The strength of the Spaniards is not known accurately, but is thought to have been more than 1,500 men. Our loss, as given officially by General Wheeler, was 16 killed and 52 wounded. Forty-two of the casualties were in the Rough Riders and 26 in the regular cavalry. This engagement attracted great attention, being the first in which the army was engaged. It is known as the battle of Siboney, La Quasina (or La Guasima).

The plan of advance from the seacoast was to send forward Cubans as scouts, with small detachments of our own men in close touch with them, while the main body followed. The enemy fell back at all points until the right of our line was within about three miles of Santiago, and by the end of June the two armies had defined their positions. At Aguadores—not the landing-place, but the town, two and a half miles inland—was the right of the Spanish position, behind which, and two or three miles to the rear,

was Morro Castle and its strong outworks. North of this place they had intrenchments across the railroad, and from that point east and northward around the city, at a distance of three or four miles from it. Some of the principal points were well fortified. Our line was at first about five miles long, but it was lengthened continually to the right for the purpose of inclosing the city completely and cutting off all retreat. Of the 16,000 men in our army, probably three-fourths were on the battle line, which became very thin in places as the advance toward the north was made. The country around Santiago is very broken, offering decided advantages to a defender and preventing coöperative tactics on the part of our divisions. Each force went for the enemy in its front and could expect little help from its neighbors.

A week was consumed in these operations and in landing and sending forward the artillery. The engineers worked hard to transform the footpath to a wagon road, throw bridges over streams and ravines, and open roads through the jungle for the artillery. The ships of Admiral Sampson's fleet made repeated attempts to find and cut the telegraph cable, which was so sunk in the ocean ooze as to make the task very difficult. At length the French cable was picked up, telegraph and telephone lines run out to the front and connected with Playa del Este, a place east of Baiquiri, and with Guantanamo by the shore-cable, until at length our front was in full telephonic connection with headquarters and these by direct cable with Washington. The engineers also cut the pipe line that conveyed water to

Santiago and turned it to the supply of our own men. This did not deprive the city absolutely of water, which would be impossible in this rainy season.

The disposition of our troops was as follows: The army of invasion comprised the Fifth Army Corps under Maj.-Gen. W. R. Shafter and was composed of two divisions of infantry, two brigades of cavalry, and two brigades of light and four batteries of heavy artillery. General Lawton commanded the Second Division, operating on the right, where the capture of El Caney was his principal task, and had the brigades of General Chaffee, the Seventh, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Infantry; General Ludlow, Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts Volunteers; and Colonel Miles, First, Fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry. In the center General Kent commanded the First Division, consisting of General Hawkins' brigade, the Sixth and Sixteenth Infantry and Seventy-first New York Volunteers; Colonel Pearson's brigade, the Second, Tenth, and Twenty-first Infantry; and Colonel Wikoff's brigade, the Ninth, Thirteenth, and Twenty-fourth Infantry. General Wheeler's cavalry division contained two brigades, Colonel Sumner's, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Cavalry, and Colonel Young's, the First and Tenth Cavalry and First Volunteer Cavalry. The cavalry operated at both the two principal points of attack, but fought dismounted,

no horses having been shipped. At the end of the first day's fighting General Kent was reënforced by General Bates with the Third and Twentieth Infantry, coming up from the coast. On the left General Duffield engaged Aguadores with the Thirty-third and part of the Thirty-fourth Michigan and a force of about 2,000 Cubans. Grimes' and Best's batteries of artillery were with the center and Capron's and Parkhouse's were with General Lawton on the right. General Shafter, Gen. Joseph Wheeler, our old antagonist in the Civil War, and General Young were all too ill to be in the field, though General Wheeler did go out in an ambulance. Headquarters were at Sevilla.

The declared purpose of General Shafter was to attack as soon as possible, for the risks of the Cuban climate to Northern men, exposed to a furious sun through the days and compelled to sleep through the chill nights with poor shelter, were at least as great as anything that could be expected from the Spanish fire. Experience has justified his conduct. At first the weather was very good, but rains began during the advance, and the men suffered discomforts that finally told on their health; but that was after the fight had been won. When they fought they were still fresh and vigorous.

The attack began on July 1 and involved the whole line, but the principal battle took place at the hill town of San Juan, opposite our center,



SPANISH SOLDIERS IN THE RIFLE-PITS AT EL CANEY.

and at El Caney, a little place on the right of our line. El Caney was taken by General Lawton's men after a sharp contest and severe loss on both sides. Here as everywhere there were blockhouses and trenches to be carried in the face of a hot fire from Mauser rifles, and the rifles were well served. The jungle must disturb the aim seriously, for our men did not suffer severely while under its cover, but in crossing clearings the rapid fire of the repeating rifles told with deadly effect. The object of the attack on El Caney was to crush the Spanish lines at a point near the city and allow us to gain a high hill from which the place could be bombarded if necessary. In all of this we were entirely successful. The engagement began at 6:40 A.M., and by 4 o'clock the Spaniards were forced to abandon the place and retreat toward their lines nearer the city. The fight was opened by Capron's battery, at a range of 2,400 yards, and the troops engaged were Chaffee's brigade, the Sev-

The Spanish force is thought to have been 1,500 to 2,000 strong. It certainly fought our men for nine hours, but of course had the advantage of a fort and strong intrenchments.



MAJ.-GEN. HENRY W. LAWTON.

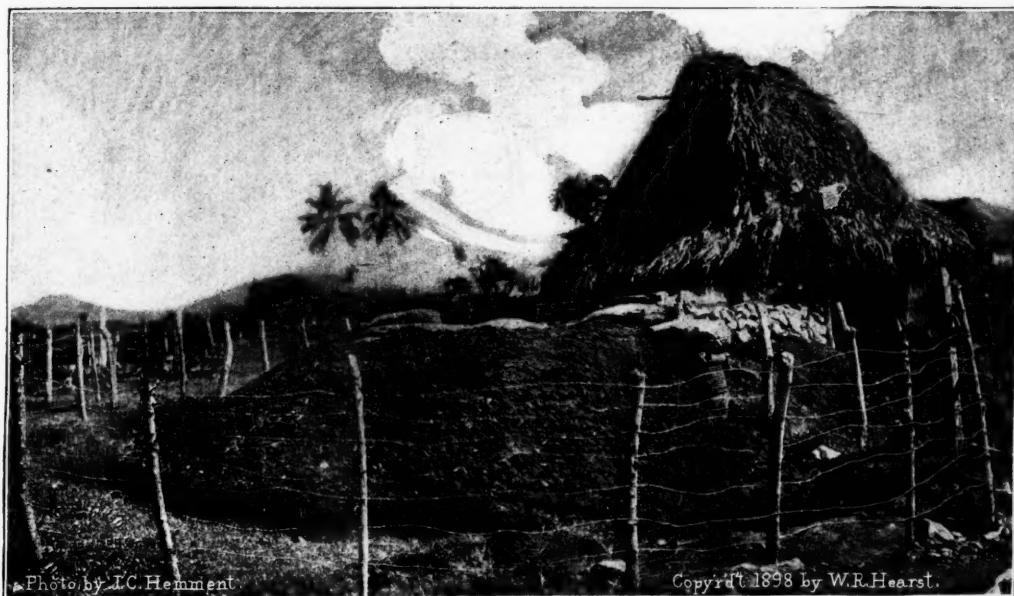
enth, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Infantry, who moved on Caney from the east; Colonel Miles' brigade of the First, Fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry, operating from the south; while Ludlow's brigade, containing the Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts, made a detour to attack from the southwest.



BRIG.-GEN. LEONARD WOOD.
(Now military governor of Santiago.)

The operations of our center were calculated to cut the communications of Santiago with El Morro and permit our forces to advance to the bay, and the principal effort of General Linares, the Spanish commander in the field, seems to have been to defeat this movement. He had fortified San Juan strongly, throwing up on it intrenchments that in the hands of a more determined force would have been impregnable.

The battle at San Juan was opened by Grimes' battery, to which the enemy replied with shrapnel. The cavalry, dismounted, supported by Hawkins' brigade, advanced up the valley from the hill of El Pozo, forded several streams, where they lost heavily, and deployed at the foot of the series of hills known as San Juan under a sharp fire from all sides, which was exceedingly annoying because the enemy could not be discerned, owing to the long range and smokeless powder. They were under fire for two hours before the charge could be made and a position reached under the brow of the hill. It was not until nearly 4 o'clock that the neighboring hills were occupied by our troops and the final successful effort to crown the ridge could be made. The obstacles interposed by the Spaniards made these charges anything but the "rushes"



SPANISH EARTHWORKS AND BARBED-WIRE FENCE.

which war histories mention so often. They were slow and painful advances through difficult obstacles and a withering fire. The last "charge" lasted an hour, but at 4:45 the fire ceased, with San Juan in our possession.

The Spaniards made liberal use of barbed-wire fencing, which proved to be so effective as a stop to our advance that it is likely to take its place among approved defensive materials in future wars. It was used in two ways. Wires were stretched near the ground to trip up our men when on the run. Beyond them were fences in parallel lines, some being too high to be vaulted over. The wires were laid so close together that they had to be separated before an ordinary wire-cutter could be forced between them. These defenses were laid in cultivated valleys and other open spaces which lay under the fire of the intrenchments, and the tree-tops around the clearings were alive with the enemy. Every fence compelled a momentary halt on the part of our men, and during those moments they were exposed to a pitiless fire from all sides. It is not only the strength of the wire and the sharp barbs that make this material so effective for entanglements and obstacles, but the fact that it offers no impediment to the flight of bullets. Short as the halt may be, the assaulting party is fully exposed to a rain of shot from quick-firing rifles at ranges that are known to the defenders.

The object of our attack was a blockhouse on

the top of the hill of San Juan, guarded by trenches and the defenses spoken of, a mile and a half long. Our troops advanced steadily against a hot fire maintained by the enemy, who used their rifles with accuracy, but did not cling to their works stubbornly when we reached them. San Juan was carried in the afternoon. The attack on Aguadores was also successful, though it was not intended to be more than a feint to draw off men who might otherwise have increased our difficulties at San Juan. By nightfall General Shafter was able to telegraph that he had carried all the outworks and was within three-quarters of a mile of the city.

Though the enemy's lines were broken in the principal places, they yielded no more than was forced from them, and the battle was resumed on the 2d. The last day saw our left flank resting on the bay and our lines drawn around the city within easy gun-fire. Fears were entertained that the enemy would evacuate the place, and the right flank was pushed around to the north and eventually to the northwest of the city.

These operations extended the lines so much that the need of more troops to hold them was felt immediately, and General Shafter telegraphed for reinforcements, which were hurried forward, 6,000 men reaching him within eight days after the battle. With these the lines were extended still further around the city, which was completely invested from Caimanes on the northwest



Courtesy of the *Independent*.

POSITION OF OUR TROOPS AFTER THE BATTLE OF EL CANEY.

to the bay south of Santiago. Siege-guns were brought up and placed in position, reënforcements of field artillery arrived, intrenchments were thrown up, and every preparation made for a quick reduction of the place by bombardment.

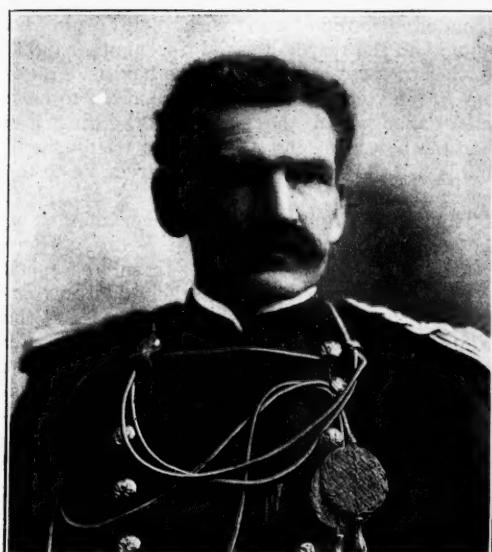
On Sunday, July 3, Admiral Cervera tried to run past the American fleet, but lost all his vessels and was taken prisoner with 1,700 men. His vessels had taken an active part in the battles of the previous two days, shelling our positions with effect.

On July 3 also General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago on pain of bombardment. The demand was refused by Gen. José Toral, commanding in the city, and in the interests of humanity General Shafter informed him that the bombardment would be postponed from 10 o'clock on the morning of the 4th until noon of the 5th. Several thousand refugees left the city and came into our lines. Others were taken out by various foreign warships which entered the harbor for that purpose. At General Toral's request the cable operators were sent back to enable him to refer the demand for surrender to the authorities at Madrid.

General Toral offered to evacuate the city provided he were permitted to do so with men and arms. This was refused by General Shafter. These negotiations lasted until July 11, when a bombardment of the town was begun by the fleet at a range of four and a half miles, which lasted

two days. The city was not visible from the vessels, which had to stand off shore far enough to enable them to fire over a range of hills intervening. One shell struck a church used as a magazine, which blew up. Otherwise the operation is not thought to be very effective. The land batteries did not attempt serious bombardment, but shelled the trenches in front of the city. Deserters reported that there were about 12,000 Spanish troops in the city and that the food supply was scanty.

General Miles arrived on the first day of bombardment, having left Tampa on the 8th. Renewed demands for surrender were made, and after several days' negotiations General Shafter telegraphed on the 14th that General Toral would surrender not only Santiago, but "all of eastern Cuba from Acerraderos on the south to Sagua la Tamana on the north, via Palma, with practically the Fourth Army Corps." This dispatch seems to have been premature, for the commissioners who met to draw up the stipulations could not agree, and it was not until the 16th that the following terms were reached: (1) Twenty thousand refugees to go back to Santiago; (2) an American infantry patrol on roads surrounding the city; (3) our hospital corps to give attention to sick and wounded Spanish soldiers; (4) all Spanish troops in the province of Santiago except the 10,000 at Holguin under command of



MAJ-GEN. ADNA R. CHAFFEE.

General Luque to come to the city to surrender ; (5) the guns and defenses of Santiago to be turned over to the Americans in good condition ; (6) the Americans to have full use of the Juragua Railroad ; (7) Spanish troops to surrender their arms ; (8) all Spaniards to be conveyed to Spain and to take portable church property ; (9) Spaniards to coöperate with Americans in destroying harbor mines.

This surrender covered the same territory that was described in the first dispatch, which General Toral surrendered as commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army Corps, to which the defense of all eastern Cuba was confided. It contains about 4,000 square miles, or one-tenth of the island of Cuba, and probably 20,000 to 25,000 Spanish troops. It gave us control of the eastern end of Cuba, the fine harbors of Santiago and Guantanamo, and one of the most healthful and, in peace, prosperous districts of Cuba.

On July 17 General Shafter sent the following dispatch announcing the formal surrender of Santiago. It is the first dispatch of the kind received at Washington from a foreign country in more than fifty years :

"I have the honor to announce that the American flag has been this instant, 12 noon, hoisted over the house of the civil government in the city of Santiago. An immense concourse of people was present, a squadron of cavalry and a regiment of infantry presenting arms and a band playing national airs. A light battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

"Perfect order is being maintained by the municipal government. The distress is very great, but there is little sickness in town and scarcely any yellow fever.

"A small gunboat and about 200 seamen left by Cervera have surrendered to me. Obstructions are being removed from the mouth of the harbor.

"Upon coming into the city I discovered a perfect entanglement of defenses. Fighting as the Spaniards did the first day, it would have cost five thousand lives to have taken it.

"Battalions of Spanish troops have been depositing arms since daylight in the armory, over which I have a guard. General Toral formally surrendered the plaza and all stores at 9 A.M."

About 7,000 rifles, 600,000 cartridges, and many fine modern guns were given up.

This important victory, with its substantial fruits of conquest, was won by a loss of 1,593 men, killed, wounded, and missing. Lawton, who had the severe fighting around El Caney, lost 410 men. Kent lost 859 men in the still more severe assault on San Juan and the other conflicts of the center. The cavalry lost 285 men, many of whom fell at El Caney, and the feint at Aguadores cost 37 men. One man of the Signal Corps was killed and 1 wounded. Trying as it is to bear the casualties of the first fight, there can be no doubt that in a military sense our success was not dearly won. Combined with the loss of the Spanish fleet, it has led to an important capitulation that cannot fail to hasten the end of the war and allow us to remove our troops from an unhealthy climate. The loss of the Spaniards is not known, but is certain to be heavier than ours. The fact that their general commanding in the field was killed indicates the sharpness of the attack they had to meet.

Great interest in the work of our troops has been aroused by the fact that in our army there are regiments armed with the newest high-power, smokeless-powder rifles fighting side by side with others who fire the old Springfield rifle, shooting black powder. The results are said to be altogether in favor of the former. The Spaniards use smokeless powder only, but would have no advantage of our men were it not for the black-powder smoke from the volunteers that reveals the position of the troops. It is significant that General Kent, who lost 859 men, had three regiments of volunteers, while General Lawton, who lost 410 men, had only one. Of course the fighting did not present the same difficulty in both cases, but probably the folly of arming a part of the troops with the old Springfield is chargeable with much of our loss. It is reported

that the regulars dread to see the volunteers near them, knowing that the smoke from the latter's guns will cost them both dear.

We lost in all 79 men missing, but some of these have come in since. Usually a large proportion of the casualties included in this term is due to men taken prisoner, but it is thought that we lost no men by capture in these battles. Missing men are probably the dead or wounded who fell in the jungle and were not found by their comrades, and the returns show that Kent, who had three regiments of volunteers, lost 69 men missing, while Lawton, who had only one volunteer regiment, lost only 1 man not accounted for. In the one case the men had been taught to look out for each other, and it is a point of honor, as well as of duty, with the trained soldier to bring off all the wounded. The volunteers will learn to do this in time, but they begin their army experience without this essential discipline. In the constant shifting of the line of battle on an active field every man must feel himself to be his brother's keeper. Otherwise he

may abandon to a death in the jungle some wounded comrade who with help could be brought to the rear and saved for another fight. Neither of these lessons from the field is derogatory to the volunteers, who are reported to have acted gallantly, but they show that nothing less than the best arms and the highest training will enable us to keep the losses of war down to the lowest point.

Thus closes the first campaign ever fought by the regular army of the United States. There appears to have been twenty-three regiments from the army and five from the volunteers engaged in this battle. Never before has the United States fought with an army principally composed of trained soldiers, and there can be no doubt that we owe our success to their discipline as much as to their valor. The volunteers are reported to have exhibited equal courage and surprising adaptability to the novel conditions of warfare. They fall short of the regulars only in those particulars that are not gained except by long-continued instruction.



Photo by J.C. Hemment.

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CUBAN SCOUTS BRINGING IN A WOUNDED "ROUGH RIDER."

OUR EASTERN SQUADRON AND ITS COMMODORE.

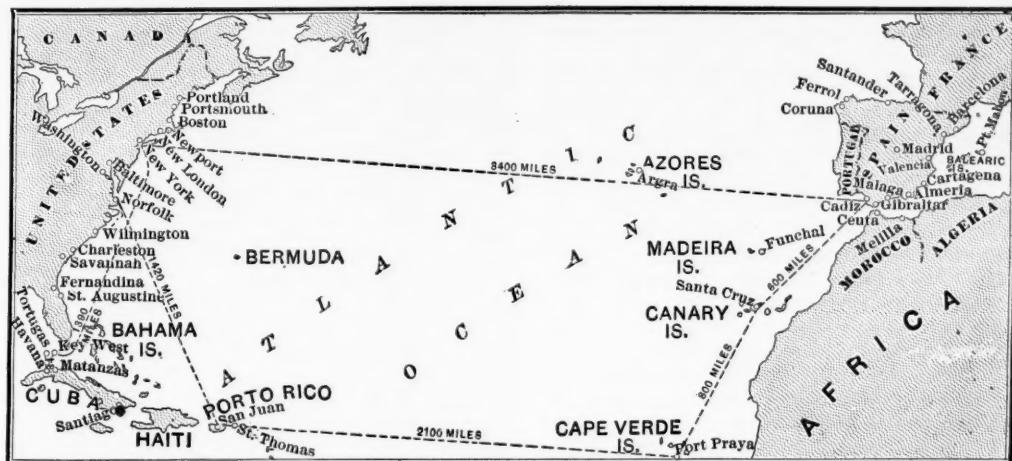
BY PARK BENJAMIN.

WITH the departure of Commodore Watson's squadron for the Spanish coast, the curtain will rise upon the last act of the great naval drama of the present war, if, indeed, it shall not prove that that act has already been played before Santiago. Shorn of her sea-power in the East, with the flower of her navy turned into blackened wrecks on the Cuban coast, Spain has now gathered her remaining warships about her own shores and awaits in her turn the attack which, at the beginning of the contest, she announced to the world she was about to make upon the cities of the American seaboard.

The squadron under Admiral Camara was dispatched to the eastward with much flamboyant secrecy. It appeared off this, that, and the other place all the way from Cartagena to the Levant, and finally arrived at the Suez Canal, to find its expected coal supply already purchased by the United States. For political purposes and to quiet the revolutionary mob the report had been permitted to leak out that it was bound for the Philippines; but there were sailors in Spain who remembered that to traverse the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean in midsummer meant to encounter the monsoons and the typhoons at their period of greatest severity, and

they doubted that their ships, hampered for coal as they would be, would ever complete the voyage of 5,000 miles between Aden and Manila. The minister of marine was soon confronted with questions difficult to answer, and he took refuge in Spanish evasion. "The squadron will go where it ought to go," he said, and the loyal Madrid journals came to his aid. "Whether Camara's squadron goes to the Philippines or to Cuba," says one of them, calmly conceding the deception in the Manila report, "the hope of patriots will go with it, and likewise the desire to see avenged the cowardly performance of Dewey at Cavite."

The Spanish squadron continued on its voyage through the canal. The news of its progress was flashed to the United States. The answer was the announcement that a fleet of American warships would sail in pursuit and chase Camara, if need be, around the world. Meanwhile the machinery of the best of the Spanish vessels broke down during the transit through the canal; the boilers of the next best one showed ominous signs of weakness. Thus it was reported even in Spain. The outward journey ended abruptly, and then, like the King of France, who marched up the hill and down again, the third



MAP SHOWING PROBABLE OBJECTIVE POINTS OF THE EASTERN SQUADRON.

of the Spanish armadas turned around and went home, having paid something over \$100,000 for tolls on the canal and probably very much more for coal and attendant transports. It is now merged in the remains of the Spanish navy, and whether therefrom will come forth a "Camara's squadron," or a "Barrosa's squadron," or a squadron dignified by the name of any one of the twenty-seven Spanish admirals who unitedly pledged themselves a few months ago with great public solemnity to the undoing of the United States, we must patiently wait to see.

Meanwhile the preparations for the departure of the Eastern squadron to Spain have continued irrespective of the return of Camara. Before the victory at Santiago its mission was to run down and destroy a part of the Spanish navy; since that event its purpose is to annihilate what is left of it and to carry the contest from the coast of America to the coast of Spain. And so for the first time since the fleet of Decatur thundered before the port of Algiers, eighty-odd years ago, an American squadron is ordered to cross the Atlantic to make offensive war. Whether or not in the rapid changes of events the necessity which dispatches it shall disappear, or whether it carries destruction to the seacoast cities of Spain, the significance of its organization remains undiminished. It is the first formal announcement to the nations that the United States casts aside the indefensible policy of a "defensive navy" limited to the protection of her own shores, and that wherever in the world her cause is to be upheld, there she proposes to strike.

When this war broke out the Spanish fleet was fairly formidable. Although it had but one battleship of the first class, the *Pelayo*, the flagship of Camara's squadron, it had great strength in its armored cruisers. Of these there were eight: the *Emperador Carlos V.*, *Cardenal Cisneros*, *Cataluña*, *Princesa de Asturias*, *Almirante Oquendo*, *Vizcaya*, *Infanta Maria Teresa*, and *Cristobal Colon*. In this class of ships the United States navy is weak, having but two, the *New York* and the *Brooklyn*. There were also five protected cruisers, the *Alfonso XIII*, *Lepanto*, *Marques de la Enseñada*, *Isla de Luzon*, and *Isla de Cuba*, and thirteen vessels of widely different sizes classified simply as cruisers. The rest of the navy was made up of small gunboats, torpedo-boats, and six so-called torpedo-boat destroyers, the *Furor*, *Terror*, *Audaz*, *Osado*, *Pluton*, and *Proserpina*, which were regarded as especially effective vessels of their class and as certain to work great havoc among our battleships. At the present time the *Pelayo* is in a state of impaired efficiency. Although her belt armor ranges in thickness from 17.7-inch to 11.8-inch

steel and her main armament includes two 12.5 and two 11 inch Hontoria guns in barbettes and nine 5.5-inch quick-fires, and her maximum speed under forced draught is 16.7 knots, still she is overmatched in point of armament and probably also in speed, at the present time, by either the *Oregon* or the *Massachusetts*.

Of the Spanish armored cruisers but four remain. Of these the *Emperador Carlos V.*—also of Camara's squadron—is the strongest and has a reported speed of 20 knots. The remaining three are not fully completed. If they can be utilized in time and if the *Carlos V.* can be repaired to the point of original efficiency, the quartette will be about as formidable as the ships which Schley destroyed.

Three protected cruisers, *Alfonso XIII*, *Lepanto*, and *Marques de la Enseñada*, are still afloat. They are all of small tonnage—about 1,100—and lightly armored. The unprotected cruisers are hardly worth taking into account; seven of them are left, and these the worst of the lot. Any of them, probably any two of them, would be easy prey for such auxiliary ships as the *Yankee*. Of the much-vaunted torpedo destroyers, the *Audaz*, *Osado*, and *Proserpina* survive; but the ease with which their mates were destroyed, especially the *Terror* by the *St. Paul*, has greatly reduced all estimates of their offensive capacity. In fact, so far as experience now shows there is no reason to assume that they are any more to be feared than ordinary gunboats. Still to be added are the old *Vitoria* and *Numancia*, iron-plated relics not long ago "reconstructed." The story of how this was done has been told. The "modern improvements" duly paid for appear to have gone, as the captain of one of Cervera's vessels said of his absent heavy guns, "into the pockets of the officials." They are rated as "battleships," but the *Vitoria* is in fact a "training ship" for sailors. The thickest part of the iron belt in each vessel does not exceed five inches, and would offer practically no resistance to the main-battery projectiles of any of our battleships or cruisers. Their heaviest guns are 6.3-inch quick-fires.

The list of auxiliary vessels is headed by the *Normannia* and *Columbia* of the Hamburg-American line—now the *Patriota* and the *Rapido*—which are fast, and includes several of the ships of the *Compañia Transatlantica* of Cadiz, which are slow, none of them having a speed of over 16 knots. They are armed with Hontoria rifles, half an inch larger in caliber than the guns carried by the *Yankee* and her mates. The *Patriota*, *Rapido*, and three of the *Compañia Transatlantica*'s ships were attached to Camara's squadron

The foregoing summary, although brief, is sufficient to show the weakness of the Spanish naval defense. One battleship in questionable condition; one armored cruiser possibly, though not certainly, ready for service, and three similar vessels still unfinished; three small protected cruisers, one of which is lurking somewhere about Cuba; seven unprotected ships, all little (several of them also in Cuban waters); three torpedo-boat destroyers, and perhaps half a dozen auxiliary vessels—this is the bulk and best of it. Small wonder that late reports from Spain are beginning to dwell rather fervidly upon the impregnability of Spanish fortifications, and to omit

the usual forecasts of the defeated *Oregon* or *Iowa* being towed into Cadiz.

The United States squadron which is now preparing to attack the Spanish ports, and incidentally to remove the Spanish fleet, had not been definitely assigned on July 23. It probably will include two battleships, the *Oregon* and the *Massachusetts*, the *Newark*, the three auxiliary ships *Yankee*, *Dixie*, and *Yosemite*, a collier for each warship and an extra one, the supply ship *Glacier*, and possibly the commerce destroyers *Columbia* and *Minneapolis*, the battleships *Iowa*, *Texas*, and *Indiana*, and the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, with Commodore Schley as a division commander. Even without the last-named vessels the others are amply strong to dispose of the Spanish navy. On the other hand, it is not to be overlooked that every one fights—and perhaps shoots too—better on his own hearth than anywhere else, and that contingency as well as the need of withstanding the fire of fortifications which are now being strengthened with feverish activity must be provided for, while if we also propose to destroy Spanish commerce, especially in the Mediterranean, there will be plenty of work for the *Columbia* and *Minneapolis* to do, even if they are not necessary for the overhauling of the fleet *Patriota* and *Rapido*.

The American squadron, until it establishes a base on the other side of the Atlantic, must of course rely upon its own resources for coal and provisions. The warships will therefore be supplied to their full capacity, and when their munitions are exhausted they will draw upon the colliers and storeships, which will return individually to the United States as fast as emptied in order to be refilled. The securing of the base is therefore of importance and may be the first work accomplished.

It is commonly supposed that the Canary Islands will be the selected point; but there are strong considerations against this, chief of which is their distance (about 1,000 miles) from the Spanish coast and scene of active operations. Port Mahon, on the Island of Minorca, offers far greater advantages. The harbor is one which has been the principal rendezvous for our fleet in the Mediterranean for many years, and its value as a supply station is thoroughly established. It is reached through a very narrow strait and offers almost perfect protection to ships anchored therein. It lies about eight hours distant from the great commercial ports of Barcelona and Valencia, and hence as a base for commerce-destroying is admirably situated. It is a point which it would be in every way to our interest to retain permanently. This cannot be said of the Canaries, which would be of little



Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

COMMANDER W. W. BROWNSON.
(Commanding the cruiser *Yankee*.)

use to us, except in a trade with Great Britain, to which country they would be of material value. Still another possible base which may be suggested is the Spanish town of Melilla, on the Morocco coast, just east of Cape Tres Forcas. This is built on a peninsula, has a good harbor, and is dominated by Fort Rosario on the heights inland, which not long since fell into the hands of the Moors. There has constantly been trouble between the natives and the Spaniards holding the Morocco coast towns, and it is believed that the former would have no hesitation in joining in any attack. That Spain has some apprehension of this is shown by the diplomatic pressure now being brought to bear upon the Sultan of Morocco to compel him not merely to declare, but to provide troops to enforce his neutrality. At all events, if a base on the Morocco coast is contemplated, Melilla is far weaker in power of resistance than the Spanish penal settlement at Ceuta and equally as good in point of proximity to Spain.

As for the selection of places to be shelled on the Spanish coast, there are many to choose from, and as the anxiety and indignation of the Spaniards increase fortifications are appearing in harbors hitherto unprotected, with the result of rendering towns liable to attack which under the

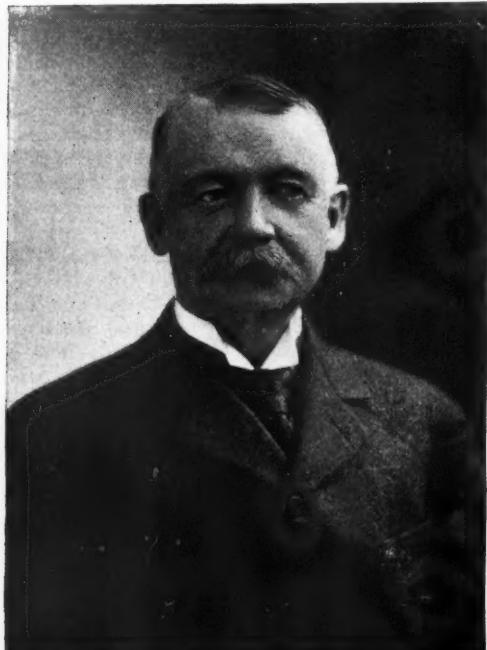


Photo by Prince.

CAPT. F. J. HIGGINSON, OF THE "MASSACHUSETTS."

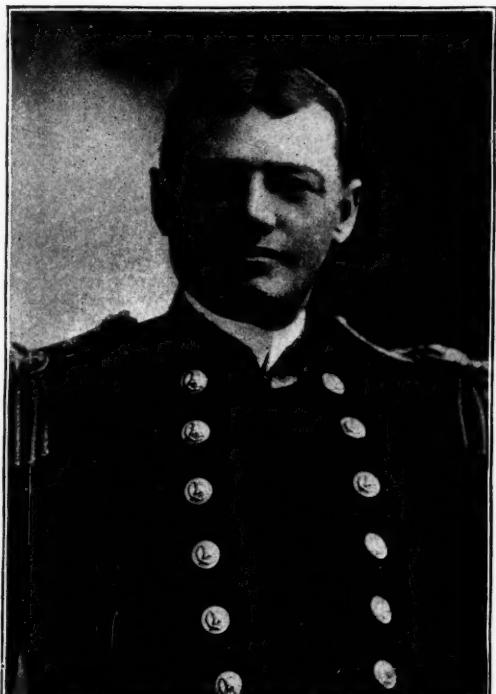


Photo by Prince.

CAPT. ROBLEY D. EVANS, OF THE "IOWA."

amenities of international law would ordinarily be held exempt. Most Spanish harbors are open and easily entered from the sea. Those most certain of bombardment are the great naval ports of Coruña and Cadiz, on the Atlantic side, and Cartagena, on the Mediterranean, at all of which there are arsenals, ship-yards, and fortifications. The first work to be done will be the destruction of the Spanish warships. Past experience has shown, however, that these vessels have an overpowering desire to get into a port behind the guns of a fortification and there stay indefinitely. It remains to be seen whether the bombardment of a seaboard town of Spain will bring the Spanish ships to its assistance. If so, that will be the simplest method of getting them "to the scratch," and then their destruction if unsupported by land batteries will be practically certain. The choice of the first place to be attacked will depend, therefore, upon the whereabouts of the Spanish fighting fleet, and will be made with due regard to the celerity with which they can cover the distance to enable them to join battle. If the fleet is at Cadiz we may hear from Watson at Coruña, or still nearer at Huelva or Tarifa. If it is at Cartagena, then Almeria, Malaga, Alicante, and Denia are near by, and the greater

ports of Valencia and Barcelona may be subsequently menaced.

Possibly inasmuch as the *Patriota* and *Rapido* will be thrown out as scouts to give warning of Watson's approach, the first conflict may occur with these ships, or if, as is reported, the *Pelayo* has sailed for the Canaries, the initial action may be the much-wished-for battleship fight which will crucially test the capabilities of this newest type of modern man-of-war.

Spain has so many seaport towns that Watson will find one conveniently at hand at almost any desired part of the coast. And that she is recognizing the possibility of a descent anywhere is proved by the fortification of such ports as that of San Sebastian—the principal watering-place—the exclusion of vessels from all harbors after dark, the extinction of the coast lights, and the wholesale placing of mines and shore batteries.

Of course it is to be expected that the conduct of operations will be governed by the particular objects in view. We may and probably will take the Canaries and Balearics and hold them, and for that purpose only troops may be sent across the Atlantic. But we have no intention of embarking upon the conquest of Spain after her ships shall have been disposed of, and therefore our operations will be purely naval and directed to the interruption of commerce to such a degree that the pressure of foreign interests in behalf of peace may become too great for Madrid to resist. Spain has a large coasting trade which such a squadron as Watson's could very speedily ruin, while the blockade of such a port as Barcelona or Cadiz would soon touch the pocket nerves of all the European maritime nations. There is



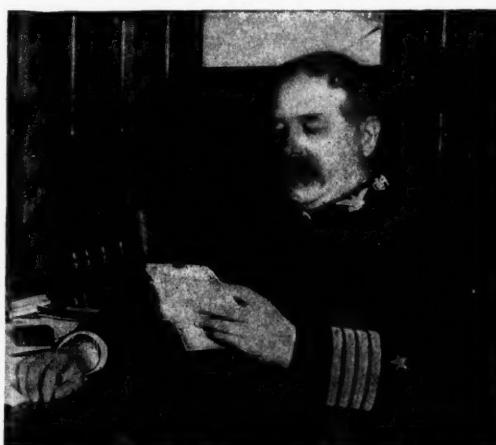
Photo by Prince.

CAPT. JOHN W. PHILIP, OF THE "TEXAS."

also the possibility of collecting indemnities through the seizure of custom-houses.

But speculation in advance concerning a campaign so unprecedented in our naval annals is hardly profitable. Its success or failure will depend chiefly upon the commander of the Eastern squadron, and for that office Commodore John Crittenden Watson has been selected. No man in the navy has ever been intrusted with a more difficult and more delicate task; no one in it has ever been confronted with similar problems or ever been called upon to take action which will not only make precedents for all time, but which is fraught with the most important bearing upon the history of the country and the future peace of the world. And no man wearing the uniform of the United States is better suited to meet these great responsibilities than he whom his own sailors have affectionately called "Able Seaman Johnny."

When Jack gives his officers nicknames they are generally pretty well apt to be deserved, and when they are of an agreeable character (they are not invariably so) they are generally looked upon as one of the most genuine compliments that can be paid. Watson earned his title fairly,



Courtesy of *Leslie's Weekly*.

CAPTAIN CLARK, OF THE "OREGON," IN HIS CABIN.

because he *is* an able seaman literally, and that because to be so is his ideal. Next to his religious belief—and here he is ruggedly strong—is his conviction that the aim and object of everybody serving in Uncle Sam's navy should be to attain perfection as an "all-round sailor man." He appreciates specialists who devote their lives to gunnery, or armor plate, or compass corrections, but they are to him little more than stunted growths. They do not flourish to the full perfection which a man who knows all sides of a sailor warrior's business ought, in his opinion, to attain.

He does not preach. On the contrary, he thinks quick, deliberates while he is thinking, comes to a conclusion, and then acts; and when he has acted there is no doubt whatever that he knew exactly what he was about and has done it in the best possible way. That is what his comrades say of him. While he sees and thinks straight, reasons simply, and follows his best judgment, he may take unusual routes in achieving his purposes—probably will—but they end in accomplishment. People who have served under him as captain of the ship seem to have had many experiences in proof of this. But there is a better description yet possible of him, and that is in habits of thought, course of action,

opinions—everything, he is as near a *replica* of Admiral David G. Farragut as one person wholly unrelated can be of another.

How could it be otherwise than that a boy coming at the most impressionable period of his life under the influence of a man as strong, as individual, as dominant as Farragut was, revering his chief as a hero and being in turn loved by him with an affection rivaling that borne to his own son, should bear an indelible impress controlling his whole existence? This was the formative period of Watson's character. He entered the Naval Academy from Kentucky in 1856. In 1862 he held the rank of master—the present lieutenant, junior grade—on board the *Hartford*. He was then barely twenty years of age, and from that time until the war ended his place was directly beside the admiral. It was Watson at the forward rifle who first opened fire at Port Hudson; Watson who volunteered to capture the blockade-runner which ran ashore under the guns of Fort Morgan before the battle of Mobile. He had been ill, and Farragut, writing to his son, says: "Watson is well again. I would not advise him to go home for the world; it would break his heart."

The cutting-out expedition succeeded, but Farragut writes: "It was an anxious night for me, for I am almost as fond of Watson as yourself."

When the time came to search for the torpedoes in Mobile Bay it was Watson who went by night in an open boat and located them. And during the great fight Watson, then flag-lieutenant, stood beside the admiral, and when he stepped into the Mizzen rigging the better to see over the smoke, Watson himself says: "I secured him with a rope's end, having first remonstrated with him and begged him not to stand in so exposed a place, as he was only a few feet from and above the deck of the ram (the *Tennessee*), which scraped her whole length along that side of the *Hartford*."

It was Watson who was sent to Fort Morgan with the summons to surrender, and it was Watson of whom in his dispatch reporting the great victory Farragut said: "During the action he was on the poop attending to the signals, and performed his duties, as might be expected, thoroughly. He is a scion worthy of the noble stock he sprang from, and I commend him to your attention."

After the war he was again the flag-lieutenant in Farragut's cruise in the Mediterranean, and his all but filial relations to the admiral were maintained until broken by death. Then he rose to command rank and saw service in China, in the Pacific, and in Europe, and in time made



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COMMODORE JOHN C. WATSON.

about the whole round of the varied duties in many climes which fill up the career of every naval officer, always creditably, until the present war found him presiding over that safe refuge for the old sailor who has become worn out in his country's service, the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia. But he was far from being a stranded hulk himself, and no better proof of this is possible than the energy with which he has handled the Cuban blockading squadron since assuming the command.

In person Watson is of medium height, slim, wiry, and nervous, although in this last respect his appearance belies him, for his tendency is toward deliberate coolness. He has a stern sense of military duty, and in his ship or squadron discipline is sure to be maintained with even-handed justice. He is strongly religious, and when captain of the *San Francisco* officiated regularly as his own chaplain, conducting the services and even singing the hymns himself when his congregation, whose church experiences had been hardly as extensive as his own, had forgotten the words—if they ever knew them. But Jacky always stands by the skipper, and we may be perfectly sure that when that officer saw fit to sing Jacky would come in with the chorus in thundering volume, regardless of either tune or words, but under the profound conviction that it was his duty to "see the old man through" on this as on every other occasion.

And yet "Able Seaman Johnny" has a fund of humor of his own, which once in a while takes practical form and leads him to wink at little lapses, especially when he makes them himself. It is said (I dare not give the authority, but he outranks the commodore considerably) that when Watson's ship once essayed to go into the Black Sea it was found that she could not pass Constantinople, because under existing treaties she mounted too many guns. A one-gun vessel, however, could go through. Thereupon the captain calmly informed the Turks that his was a one-gun vessel; and sure enough on inspection only one grim muzzle protruded from

her side. He neglected to mention several other grim muzzles which he had dismounted and struck down into the hold, where they lay concealed among the beef and pork barrels and where the Turks never dreamed of looking for them.

Now in his later years—for he is well along in the fifties—there is much about the commodore



ADMIRAL CAMARA.

which recalls the great admiral, despite the obvious differences in physique and natural temperament. There is the same gentle speech and quiet disposition; the same tendency to believe in Jacky—to prefer the sailor to the engineer; the same quickness of decision and stern determination in carrying it into effect.

It may be that the opportunity to rival the deeds of his famous exemplar may never come to him, but if it does come we may well believe that he will act as if Farragut were again beside him—as Farragut himself would have acted. He will make the words of the Spanish minister come true, but with a significance which the man who uttered them little meant. He will see to it that "the Spanish squadron will go where it ought to go," but he will determine its destination.



THE PRESENT PROBLEMS AND POLITICS OF FRANCE.

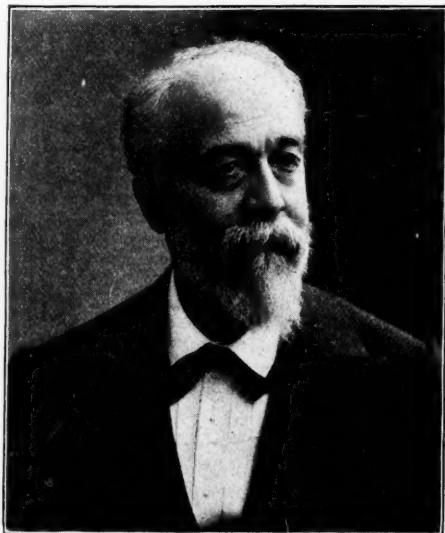
BY BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN.

ACCORDING to the present republican constitution, general elections in France take place every few years for the nomination by universal suffrage of the Chamber of Deputies, while the Senators are elected for six years, a partial election for half of the Senate taking place every three years. A special law provided, however, that the Chamber of 1893 would live a little longer than usual, the reason for this exception being that the month of May was thought a better time for the French to fulfill their electoral duty than the month of September, as has been the case hitherto. Instead of being dismissed last autumn after having covered their four years' work, the Deputies were allowed an extra period of seven months and took their departure from the *Palais Bourbon* at Easter.

I.—THE CONDITION OF PARTIES.

NO CHANGE.

None of the existing parties has gained or lost much. "No change" can be said to sum up the general character of these elections. The fact that Jules Guesde and Jaurés, who were considered the heads of the socialists, or among the royalists the Duke de La Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, who had represented the Department of Sarthe for more than twenty-five years, were not re-elected this time does not mean in any way that the socialists will be less strong or the royalists much weaker than was the case before. Royalist weakness proceeds chiefly from the fact that the vast majority of Frenchmen have lost their faith in the usefulness of hereditary government and are even strongly opposed to it, while socialist strength lies in the obstinate belief of many that there is no serious reason why the socialist theories could not be brought into practice, and that even if the *régime* did not work well, it would not be much worse, from the standpoint of social justice, than the present state of things. It is hard to say what could bring back the French to the superstition of heredity, while it seems quite certain that those who believe in socialism cannot be led to realize its inconveniences or impossibilities unless they have experienced them at their own expense. This makes it sufficiently clear why a royalist electoral tide is no less possible than a socialist reflux. The interest of the last



HENRI BRISSON.

(The new Prime Minister of France.)

elections was therefore concentrated on the two great parties that can claim power, the republicans and the radicals, on their leaders and the movements of their troops.

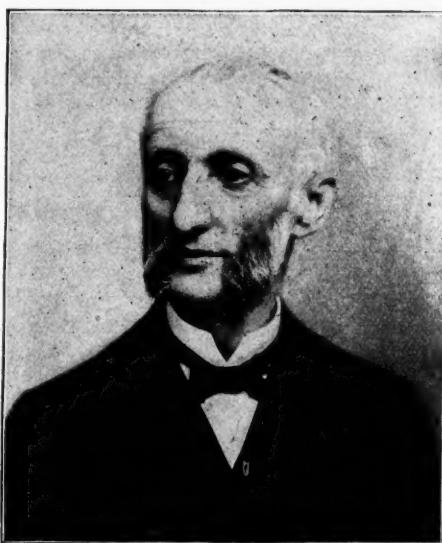
MÉLINE STILL POWERFUL.

Jules Méline (Jules, by the way, seems to have, as a Christian name, something to do with moderate republicanism, since we note that the present republic has been ruled successively by Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Jules Grévy, Jules Ferry, and Jules Méline, not to speak of less illustrious Jules like Develle, who was for a time minister of foreign affairs) Jules Méline, then, has become the recognized head of the republican party, not only because of his having broken the record of ministerial life and having become the champion prime minister (the Méline cabinet was formed in April, 1896), but also because his programme was by degrees taken up by a large number of republicans, among whom it is fair to count some ex-radicals as well as ex-royalists. Méline's career has been an honest and industrious one. For twenty-seven years he devoted himself to agricultural problems, displaying much earnestness

in his desire to solve them, but at the same time showing some narrowness of mind. Protection was, in fact, his unique platform, and he never seemed to realize its provisional character as a remedy and how much routine habits already prevalent among French peasants would be enforced by it. He succeeded in getting up a protectionist majority made of various political elements such as was certain to push him into the premiership if only his political programme could be made of inoffensive and colorless elements suitable to the variety of opinion of his supporters.

RADICALS AND SOCIALISTS.

About eight months after Félix Faure's election as president of the republic a radical cabinet was formed and remained in power for six months. Although some of the men who composed this cabinet were very clever and well-intentioned men—such as Cavaignac, son of General Cavaignac of 1848, Berthelot, the famous scientist, Lockroy, who knows much about naval matters, etc.—it became soon obvious that the radicals would pave the way for the socialists. Indeed, they start from the same depot by the same train, but they pretend not to go so far; they mean to stop somewhere before they reach the terminus point and think it will be easy to get down. The question is whether the socialist train will stop at all. Many think not, and that any restraint put on the right that a man has to grow rich, if he can, must lead progressively to the suppression of such a right, while it is impossible for the state to protect the workmen unless they come under its direct control. The radicals fail to see that. They are theorists, and as such unable to admit that theories are often opposed by facts. The spirit of Jacobinism lies in them; they inherited the absurd Jacobin worship of logical and arbitrary argument. All the Jacobins were not cruel; some were honest and merciful, but their devotedness to abstract principles would bring them to crime. It has been said of an ex-leader of French radicalism that he was a "sugared Robespierre." The word would prove true for many of his colleagues. It may be said also that the socialists have not lost one single occasion to show what they felt toward the radicals and how they looked upon them as the vanguard of their party. A great many Frenchmen who, feeling inclined to theories, would have willingly supported the radicals, were thus made cautious, and took away their votes from the radical candidates for fear that socialism would benefit by it. The ambiguity of the situation was underlined in the recent electoral tournament by the attitude and speeches of the two radical leaders, the one, Léon Bour-



JULES MÉLINE.

geois, declaring on every occasion against socialism, and the other, René Goblet, expressing his warm sympathies for the socialists and supporting many of their wishes. Of the two, the former was elected and the latter defeated.

MÉLINE'S PROGRAMME.

This made way for Méline's programme. It was of a negative character and appealed to the old conservative habits of the French people. Why should we move all the time? Uninterrupted progress is by no means desirable; it leads to uncertainty and inconsistency. France needs rest after having gone through so many political and social experiences since the beginning of the century, and what suits her better is *statu quo*. She has nothing to gain and much to lose by undertaking another series of reforms. Frenchmen ought to give the present state of things time to settle down before they try new improvements. Besides, it is far from certain that they are in the way of improvements at all. Therefore the *statu quo* is the wisest of plans. These are the arguments on which rested Méline's popularity. If presented in that awkward and abrupt way they would no doubt have acted less powerfully, but they were made to creep into one's mind, and as they favor the sense of idleness with which Europeans are known to treat public affairs, their success is great. The Old World's tendency to let *res publica* take care of itself must be largely enforced by the feeling that to leave things as they are is the duty of the moment—a



SENATOR WALDECK-ROUSSEAU
President of the Grand Cercle Républicain.

duty easy enough to fulfill. Moderate republicans consider willingly that their own and the nation's interests are but one, and that it is of national importance, therefore, that they should retain the government in their hands. Reactionaries feel that before moving backward there must be a stop in the moving forward. As to members of the Church, a considerable number of whom have taken part in the elections as candidates or as patrons while adopting Leo XIII.'s views on the necessity of a republican form of government in modern France, they remain reactionaries at heart. The Méline majority presented thus a character of incongruity due to the fact that among those who composed it not two would agree on what ought to be done, and all agreed that it was safer not to do anything. It is strange enough that the new radical cabinet will not be able to remain in power unless it makes Méline's programme its own.

INFLUENCES FROM OUTSIDE.

The existence of the Franco-Russian alliance has something to do with that kind of torpor of public mind. I have pointed out already in this magazine what were the changes that the conclusion of an alliance between the French republic and an autocratic European power was likely to introduce in the government of France. I am sorry to say that what I foresaw proved only too true. Either must everything that passes between Paris and St. Petersburg be brought before the Russian people or be concealed from the

French Parliament. The Russians cannot be asked to call on the French press to know the sayings or doings of their own government, as Russia is as far as ever from a constitutional form of monarchy, and the French republic is expected to go more than half way to meet her. I believe that the experience of free countries has proved that the discussion of public affairs cannot be limited to certain subjects, and that unless the foreign policy is debated as freely as the home problems, the people cease to take interest in the government. Besides, the moderate republicans and the reactionaries have cunningly enough spread the rumor that Russia was determined not to go any further than she had gone by entering into an alliance with a republic, and that the very existence of the alliance would be endangered by any movement toward advanced republicanism. It may be that the Czar and his counselors prefer Mélinism to any other system, and above all wish to see their dearest friend Hanotaux remain in power; but those who witnessed Nicolas' attitude during his visit to Paris did not fail to remark his attentions to Léon Bourgeois and the radical leaders and the visits he paid to the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies (the latter was a radical), while he was not expected, according to the protocol, to do anything of the kind. The uncertainty of the so-called European "equilibrium" is used also as an electoral argument by the reactionaries, who, while opposing the present state of things to their majestic conceit of monarchical France, insist upon the necessity of keeping at least a moderate republic, since there is no immediate possibility of a better form of government.

NEW FEATURES OF POLITICAL LIFE.

A republican club was started in Paris this year. No serious attempt had yet been made in that direction, but the idea has been in the air for some time, and a few years ago two or three well-known members of the French Parliament crossed the channel in order to study the working of the London political clubs. Their visit, however, was not followed by any practical attempt to found a club. Club life in Paris is so very different from what it is in Anglo-Saxon countries that it seems doubtful whether such a plan might be successfully carried out. One very simple fact is enough to illustrate the difference. Before having the slightest idea as to where the club would be located, to what sum the annual subscription would amount, and on what lines the affair would be conducted, the founders had made up their minds who would be the president and who the vice-presidents. This was the im-

portant problem. Find the officers first and start a club under them afterward. The president of the *Grand Cercle Républicain* happens to be a man of high value, Senator Waldeck-Rousseau, a friend of Gambetta, who very nearly secured a sufficient number of votes in 1895 to become president of the republic. But what will he be able to do, except deliver first-rate speeches, if the members of the club are present only when some big banquet is announced? Frenchmen do not care for their club as a rule; they are not willing to spend either time or money for it. It is therefore most improbable that clubs of the kind of the *Grand Cercle Républicain* will ever succeed in France. It may be said, apropos of French clubs, that in Paris, of all the social clubs the *Union Artistique*, nicknamed the *Épatant*, is the only one that succeeds. It has a well-attended fencing section and holds instrumental concerts and exhibitions of pictures. All the others are frequented only by a minority of unoccupied young bachelors or drawn-out old men who don't care the least about politics.

WHY MÉLINE RESIGNED AND WHY BRISSON
ACCEPTED.

If things are such and if morally Méline is there still, what can be the reason of the very extraordinary change we have witnessed quite recently when Henri Brisson, ex-President of the Chamber of Deputies, was called upon by the president of the republic to form another cabinet? The fact is that Méline was anxious to resign, since the elections had not given him so strong a majority as he had hoped to get. He seems to have been much excited by his two years' term and was longing for rest. At the same time he thought his influence could only gain from an interregnum of some months. For none expect the Brisson cabinet to live much longer. Hanotaux felt the same.

But what seemed more astonishing at first than Méline's resignation was the president's appeal to a radical who had been a few days before defeated as President of the Chamber of Deputies by a young moderate, Paul Deschanel. Some are inclined to believe that by acting as he did Félix Faure cared for his own reélection, Brisson having been his rival for the presidency of the republic in 1898 and intending to run the chance again in 1902. But it is quite easy to attribute nobler and purer motives to this presidential initiative. Many Frenchmen—and Félix Faure always was one of them—think that the French republic will be safe when a tradition will be established as to two regular and well-organized parties succeeding one another into power. The moderate leader having resigned, it was one of

the radical leaders who was to be called upon to form the cabinet.

There being no real prospect of securing a radical majority in the new house, another question is puzzling. Why did Brisson accept the premiership under such unfavorable circumstances? He is a wise, unselfish, and cool-headed man, and surely did not accept for the sake of his own ambition. Brisson acted undoubtedly with the hope that although circumstances were not favorable, there might remain one chance for him of succeeding in the long run—that is, of awaking the country from its dangerous torpor and its dangerous fear of political and social re-



M. DELCASSÉ,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

forms. It is indeed very doubtful whether Brisson will succeed, and to begin with, he and his colleagues had to give up the chief points of the radical programme, such as the income tax, the disestablishment of the churches, etc., and to be contented with changing a few prefects and administrative officers known for the exaggeration of their conservatism.

II.—FOREIGN POLICY.

THE RUSSIAN SISTER.

Russia has not only reacted upon our political parties and modified our methods of government; she has forced us into a foreign system that is not likely to suit us. In France the many still rejoice in the alliance, but the few regret that its



GENERAL BILLOT.

effects have been more *active* than was expected. Although outside of France and in America chiefly it is admitted that France was pushed into the arms of Russia by the *revanche* idea, the reverse is true. The French were in favor of the alliance because they thought it would add to their security by making less possible than before a war with Germany. None among us wishes to see war break out. We all know that war, even ended by victory, would be the ruin of the country, the more so as we are engaged in large and expensive industrial works in connection with the coming exposition. Alexander III. was known to be thoroughly attached to the cause of peace, and we took it for granted, with some thoughtlessness, that his ideas were the ideas of everybody in Russia. It is not certain, however, that Nicolas will remain peaceful during a reign that may be long and full of unforeseen events. In the Franco-Russian balance the peace scale is not the Russian one. There are more chances that Russia will lead us to war than that we shall bring her to it. To begin with, we had, twice already, to keep by her when our interests were decidedly on the other side, once when Greece fought Turkey and once when Japan and China quarreled. M. Hanotaux's eloquence or Mr. Delcassie's ability cannot change facts, and everybody knows that we should have lost all our Mediterranean influence by the first of these unfortunate events had not Russia, after allowing, strangely enough, the Greeks to be thrashed, gone back to her traditional Philhellenism; it became thus

possible for us to give way to our sympathies for Greece. In the Asiatic war France was directly interested in the weakening of the Celestial Empire. Yet Russia having decided against Japan, we followed her. There does not seem to be anything clear or firm at present in the minds of the Emperor and his ministers, and we feel the rebounds of such a state of things. In one way only we have benefited by the alliance. Our industries find in Russia and Siberia openings and markets of very great importance. The improving of lands, the felling of woods, the extraction of oils and minerals, the starting of manufactures of various kinds are more or less in the hands of a few Frenchmen who find there employment under very profitable conditions.

GERMANY VERSUS ENGLAND.

There are many reasons for believing that in the Anglo-German duel Russia will have some day to say her word, and there are as many reasons to suppose that the Czar will finally sympathize with Germany rather than with England. German ambitions toward the creation of a navy and the starting of crown colonies do not interfere in any way with Russia's plans, while on the contrary nothing can prevent Russia and England from meeting on more or less unfriendly terms in Asia. This is a geographical necessity. Historical ties may get loose, but seldom will geography's laws be denied in such matters. If such be the case, the Franco-Russian alliance will number many opponents in France: first, those who, although peaceful, do not care to see France dragged by Russia into an alliance with Germany; the others who desire France to be at peace with England in order that the two neighbors might settle in a friendly way the innumerable contests that arise daily between them all over the world. Such contests are almost unavoidable, since—in Europe as well as in their colonies—the French and the British come into continual contact. But they are of very small importance as long as the two peoples care to be friends; they would, if the reverse was true, give way to an insufferable and, alas! irremediable state of things. It is a curious fact to state that the Paris and London press gives the impression of very bitter rancor as prevailing in both countries with regard to one another, when nothing of the kind exists in reality. The French delight in making fun of the English, and *vice versa*, but at the bottom one notes a very serious feeling of respect and sympathy. Indeed, the number of books written by Frenchmen to praise England increases every year, and they meet usually with great success. It is certainly safe to say that if one result of the Franco-Russian

alliance proved to be the breaking up of Anglo-French peace, the government would not be allowed to follow its ally.

THE COLONIES.

A new governor-general has been sent to Algiers to replace M. Cambon, who became the French ambassador in Washington. M. Lépine is a clever and well-intentioned man, but can cleverness and good-will undo what sixty years of combined military and civil despotisms have done there? Most of the present Algerian problems seem insoluble except at a very distant date. Drumont's election as member of Parliament for Algiers is not likely to soothe the anti-Jewish agitation, which has lately gone beyond any limits. The Jews are certainly responsible for the hatred which they have drawn upon themselves by their exactions in Algeria. They have, nevertheless, a right to claim protection against the mob, and the government is bound to protect them. It made it easy for Drumont to get the opposition's support for his election. Tunis, so near Algeria, is so different and its present prosperity is so great that one realizes in passing from one into the other how much a colony depends on its organization and on the proceedings of the mother country.

Prince Henri of Orleans has gone back to Abyssinia, where he is said to have been asked by the Emperor Menelik as a lieutenant-governor for the border states of the empire. Count Léontieff is with him, giving the affair a kind of Franco-Russian tint. It seems doubtful whether the success can be as great commercially as it is politically; for Menelik is at present no less courted by the whole of Europe than was old Li Hung Chang two years ago, and everybody desires his favor. In Madagascar General Gallieni is doing good work; order and serenity are nearly restored, but the colonial work has not yet begun seriously. Tonquin improves slowly. A team of explorers sent out by the Lyons Chamber of Commerce went further inland than had been reached before and founded several factories. Public opinion becomes gradually more and more interested in the colonies and the outside world; yet this interest is of a rather platonic—or to use a better word, of a somewhat scientific—character. We do not care to know more about Madagascar than about the Transvaal, and we consider Tonquin or New Caledonia as if they were the land of Francis Joseph and had been recently visited by Nansen. We are not yet familiar with the idea of a Greater France. Efforts are being made by several—and above all by Gabriel Bouvalot, the famous globe-trotter who went from Paris to Tonquin through



M. PAUL DESCHANEL,
President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Central Asia—to make this beautiful empire of ours, its forty millions of inhabitants and its enormous wealth, a prospect point in the life of young Frenchmen. But nothing of the kind can succeed unless a preliminary reform has been introduced in our methods of education, giving our boys that pluck and energy that will make them feel the narrowness of life at home and long for something wider and more manly.

III.—A MORAL CRISIS.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

France has experienced this winter another of those moral crises that have periodically disturbed her for twenty years, and that can be compared in some ways to the financial and industrial troubles of the American republic, not only because of their reappearance at regular intervals, but on account of the way they happen. Although the crisis is usually anticipated, nobody can tell why it should burst out, and there is not the slightest affinity between its cause and its effects. For instance, one fails to see why agitation should spread all over the country either because bribery has touched the Parliament or because a doubt arises about a man being un-

justly condemned. No such thing ought to happen. Both cases should be taken up and discussed by public opinion freely and quietly. If a panic sets up, it sets up without any reason. Of the Dreyfus affair itself little can be said. No proof whatever has been supplied that the



M. LÉON BOURGEOIS,
Minister of Education and Public Worship.

man was innocent. But it was established by the strongest evidence that there was no ground whatever for Zola's charges against the officers of the court-martial. To suspect their sincerity was as absurd as it would be to-day to suspect Zola's sincerity. Zola is the most self-conceited of writers and has already, under various circumstances, shown signs of a lack of common sense; but he is, at the same time, an enthusiast and an obstinate. He felt sure he was accomplishing a great act of justice, and it may be that he feels so yet. He failed utterly, however, to convince even a minority of the French people, and his followers were but a handful of second-rate men. Anyhow, the Dreyfus case may be considered as unsettled, not on account of any great probability of Dreyfus being innocent, but simply because the trial was conducted somewhat irregularly. Such are the Dreyfus affair and the Zola affair proper. But there did not end the trouble; otherwise things would have taken another turn. We had to deal then with the "*pecheurs en eau trouble*."

MUD AND CLOUDS.

"*Pecheurs en eau trouble*" is a French expression that I will not attempt to translate otherwise than by saying that those whom we call thus love mud and clouds and hate to see everything clean and bright. They are usually men who have constantly gone the wrong way through life and never proved able to succeed in anything. They have become imbibed against society, are envious, complicated, and pessimistic. Such men are to be found in every country, but they are more numerous and more dangerous in France than anywhere else, on account of our system of centralized administration and of the quantity of office-seekers that such a system entertains. For one who gets employment from the government how many are left aside? Thus is formed the army of unemployed. They are led to hope that some day a revolution of one kind or another might come and make room for them, and each time they see the beginning of a disturbance somewhere they work their best to increase it and make it the worst possible. When Marshal de MacMahon sent away his ministers and made an appeal to the country, later on when Prince Bismarck was on the point of going to war once again, then when it was discovered that President Grévy's son-in-law used his influence to sell decorations of the Legion of Honor, when our troops were defeated at Lang-Son in Tonquin, when Boulanger's popularity began to spread all over France, when the Panama scandals were revealed, and finally when the Dreyfus-Zola agitation began, the mud-and-clouds men set to work and poured out heaps of false news, of alarming information, of dreadful stories. Daily papers that don't sell and have more creditors than subscribers gathered eagerly that mass of contemptible and mischief-making literature and retailed it in three editions a day until public opinion, recovering as from an attack of epilepsy, realized how ridiculous it was to believe such nonsense and scream like a little baby frightened by the bogie-man.

INTERNATIONAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

Usually—and this time even more than usual—what comes out of all this is a misunderstanding of some kind. It is sad to note how men remain ignorant of what is going on in other countries than their own, of feelings, if not of facts. One race fails utterly to understand another, and there does not seem to be any progress toward a better state of things. Let us, however, not be discouraged; intellectual internationalism is a necessity, and we *must* get to it. As regards France, the Dreyfus-Zola crisis will surely not help toward it, for there remains a bitter feeling against foreigners, and certainly

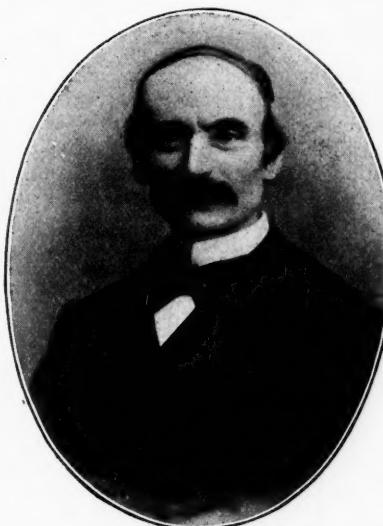
Frenchmen are justified in resenting very deeply the injurious treatment they have received from the outside press. I am enough of a friend to the Anglo-Saxons, and above all to the Americans, to state frankly my opinion on this point. Public opinion in England and in America went crazy about this affair, and if France needs an excuse for her own craziness on that circumstance, she can find it in the craziness of her neighbors. By the way, this contributed to cool the hitherto ever-growing good-will between France and the United States. Knowing what I have done to promote it, my American friends can realize how deeply it touches me. But we shall resume it before long, when peace is restored and Cuba is free. The sympathies that many Frenchmen entertain for Spain would be less strong if they knew what has been going on in Cuba since the rebellion began. It was a great mistake not to publish and send to all Europe the United States reports on Cuban atrocities. Not much is known of them on this side of the ocean, and what is known is considered groundless because no official reports have been published. But I believe that the so-called universal sentiment for Spain has been extremely exaggerated. A number of Frenchmen sympathize with the United States, and much indignation has been felt here at the telegrams sent from London to American papers about an agreement between France and Germany to divide Brazil, and other tales of the kind. Anyhow, if the American press had behaved more gently toward France during the Dreyfus-Zola crisis, their sympathies at present would still be greater.

EUROPEAN SWEETNESSES.

One word more about this crisis. In order to understand exactly what happened, the Americans must get accustomed to the idea that the great European powers, and chiefly Germany and Italy, have an extensive and carefully organized spy system. We send also a number of spies abroad, but don't care so much about it and spend less money for it than the Germans. Besides, the prejudice against spying is less strong in Germany than in France among well-educated men, and we find very few officers in

our army who are willing to do it. But in every case it remains unrecognized. Officially the German Government is not supposed to entertain spies, and does not admit that a question on such a subject can be asked of it. The importance of a spy system nowadays comes from the fact that the whole success of a war may depend on the mobilization of troops. Victory is for the government that gets ready first and is able to send first its troops to the frontier. A mobilization can be got through in three or four days. Hence the importance of knowing the plans and methods of the mobilization of one's opponent,

and the absurdity of a process where the spy system is to be discussed being prosecuted publicly. No such thing would ever be thought of in Germany, and France would act childishly by doing otherwise. These are European sweetnesse!



ALFRED SICARD,
Commissioner-General of the Exposition.

IV.—PREPARING FOR THE WORLD'S FAIR.

THE CHAMPS ÉLYSÉES BUILDINGS.

The republic has organized three great international expositions: in 1878, 1889, and 1900. The buildings erected for each of these expositions are of two sorts. Some are provisional and intended to disappear when the fair is over; some are made to stay.

In 1878 the Trocadero Palace remained. With its enormous rotunda, its towers and its colonnade, it can be seen from all Paris. It replaced a wide flight of steps with broad grass links on both sides that Napoleon III. had arranged there in order to disguise the bareness of the Trocadero Hill, which has become now one of the most beautiful parts of Paris. The 1889 exposition has left behind the celebrated Eiffel Tower and the *Galerie des Machines*, a huge iron construction of a rather ungraceful type. This time we shall keep two palace-like buildings that will occupy the site of the *Palais de l'Industrie* in the Champs Élysées, but will leave room between them for a large avenue lined with beautiful trees, through which the *Invalides* with the golden dome of Napoleon's monument will be seen. The avenue will lead to a bridge that will also remain and bear the name of Alexander III. of Russia. The Emperor Nicolas placed the corner-stone when in Paris last year. Al-

though such a bridge was needed as a means of connection between the *Champs Élysées* and the underground railroad station that is being built on the *Esplanade des Invalides*, it will greatly damage the beautiful prospect of this part of Paris. The river Seine is much too narrow to be crossed by so many bridges in so short a space.

UNDERGROUND OR ELEVATED?

The construction of the Invalides railroad station is not the only improvement of that kind that the Parisians will welcome. The terminus depot of the Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux & Spain Railway will be shortly removed from where it stands to the center of Paris, and is to occupy the spot where are the ruins of the *Conseil d'État*, burned down by the commune in 1870. Then the long-spoken-of Metropolitan Railway will soon run its trains through our streets. Up to this day few cities, even in France, were less provided with means of transportation than was Paris. The tram-cars are slow, and as to the goods—stones, wood, iron, etc.—they have to be conveyed in heavy vehicles dragged by four or six horses from one end of the city to the other, making it dusty and noisy. The modes of conveyance and the supply of electricity are the two points on which the Paris municipality is to blame; nowhere is electric light so costly. While the public buildings, the streets, and the walks are beautifully kept, the Parisian can complain of the way his house is lighted up and his time wasted. It took nearly ten years to decide whether the Metropolitan would be an underground railroad, as in London, or an elevated one, as in New York. The New York elevated is so much superior to any other type that it seems a pity we should not have decided for it. As it is, the Metropolitan will be underground except in the southern part of Paris, where it will cross the river on a viaduct.

IN THE EXPOSITION'S OFFICES.

The offices of the 1900 exposition are filled with as many *chefs* and *sous chefs de bureaux* and *employés* of all kinds as would be necessary to keep up the whole administrative machine of a state of ten millions of men. This is a not unusual defect of our French character. In 1889, however, such an inconvenience was avoided. Time was short. Three prominent men—MM. Alphand, Georges Berger, and Grison—divided the work between them and hastened toward the end, each one doing his best in the line committed to his care. This time the centralization prejudice prevailed. The head of the organization is M. Alfred Picard, of the *École Polytechnique*, who has the exactness of mind and

rigidity of character of many among those who were students of this celebrated school. Under him are two directors, one of whom, M. Delaunay-Belleville, has been president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce. The principles of hierarchy are strictly observed, and everything goes before the eyes of the commissioner-general after having got through the file of his subordinates. All the governments the world over have declared officially their intention of coöperating with the commissioner-general, and many have already appointed representatives. In 1889, it will be remembered, no great power except the United States had accepted to take part officially in the arrangement for the exposition, the reason being that the exposition was held in connection with the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the French Revolution. It is a remarkable fact that the participation of foreign nations, although unofficial, was no less important, and nothing shows more plainly the insignificance and childishness of our hierarchical and formal European prejudices. The "official" commissioners of 1900 will do no better than the "unofficial" ones of 1889; only they will cost a good deal more and complicate the work.

"À DEMAIN LES AFFAIRES SÉRIEUSES."

It would be a great pity and an incalculable damage to France if the care of her coming world's fair was to interrupt her progress and keep her from giving the attention that is needed to the true problems of the day and following the necessary policy. "À demain les affaires sérieuses" is unfortunately a phrase that many Frenchmen are prompted to utter when the violins begin to play and the Venetian lanterns are lighted up. The time has come when a deliberate effort *must* be made in the way of decentralization, in order to revive provincial life and provincial institutions. Either will the old provinces be reestablished and France made a more or less federal country, or socialism will take possession of her and increase that dullness and languor which are characteristic of centralized nations. A firm and independent foreign policy is no less desirable. So long as the French republic will, according to the unfortunate and imprudent words pronounced by M. Hanotaux, "raise above all other cares the care of her alliances," her influence will be canceled and her prestige will be small. For all nations is true what George Washington wrote in his immortal Farewell Address, that "it is folly for one nation to look for disinterested favors from another," and that "it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character."

SPANISH TRAITS AND THE NEW WORLD.

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER.

THE exploitation of colonies by the home power in disregard to the welfare of the colonist was long the policy of all colonizing nations. Oppression of the colonies was a natural concomitant of the exploitation policy. Our own race, as represented by its ruling power, was by no means an exception. England learned the lesson that America taught her, and that teaching founded the British empire's present might. Other colonizing powers have heeded the example, and, modifying their policies accordingly, have profited more or less thereby.

America had a lesson for Spain as well, but that country never heeded the teaching, dear though its cost was. She has held obstinately to the same course, until now it is too late to save the last remnants of her once world-wide realm. But it may turn out that she has unbuilded wiser than she knew.

We of English speech have been so wont to dwell upon the shadows of Spanish history that we have blinded ourselves to the existence of light that is there. Spain wrought much evil in her new-world empire, but there was good wrought also. In North America, at least, what she did was better than what went before. Possibly the empire of the incas, had it been let alone, might have developed a high civilization along its own lines. But it is doubtful if the Aztec and cognate cultures north of the isthmus had within them the seeds of progress. In Mexico the Spanish aims were of good intent. The laws that Spain framed for her new-world subjects were beneficent; the home government was actuated by motives of a humane paternalism. The record of Spanish treatment of the Indians is one of brightness itself compared with that of the English and of the great republic's "century of dishonor."

But the canker of colonial exploitation was there from the first; its growth very largely frustrated the intentions of righteous aims, and, corrupting Spain at the core by the riches it yielded, it proved the main source of national decay. Its twin evil was the overbearing old-world spirit that has endured to be the bane of the last of Spain's colonial possessions. It is the spirit that ascribes inherent superiority to birth in the home land and looks on transoceanic nativity as a mark of essential degeneracy, meriting only contempt. It is the same spirit that was shown by the English toward their new-world kin down to

the end of the past century, but in New Spain it went further in its manifestation. Spaniards resident in Mexico were wont to despise their own children, even though of purest Castilian blood, when born on the new-world soil. "*Tu eres criolla*" (Thou art a creole), a father would say contemptuously to his son. And even the legal rights of the native born were below those of the immigrant; as instanced in the preferences given to the latter in the holding of office. One of the factors in goading the Cubans to revolt has been this same invariable preference to those of Spanish birth.

In greater or less degree the evils that marked the administration of Spain's colonial possessions were common to the colonial policies of all the European nations with holdings beyond the sea, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century; intensified here, diminished there, by this or that circumstance. The personal quantity has been a dominant factor in determining for good or ill the character of a colonial régime. New Spain has had good viceroys and bad viceroys, Cuba has had good captain-generals and bad captain-generals, and the colonies have prospered or have suffered correspondingly. Much, if not all, depended upon the spirit in which the laws enacted at home were administered abroad.

As to the brighter side of Spanish rule in the New World, it is safe to say that no contemporary imperial power can point to like achievements. It is true that Spain gorged herself upon the New World's wealth, but that wealth was superabounding, and New Spain also profited thereby to no small degree. No thoughtful visitor to Mexico, for instance, can fail to be impressed by the magnificent monuments of Spanish rule that are still in evidence throughout the land: institutions of learning and of the fine arts, hospitals and other noble charities, splendid public buildings, great benefactions by generous and public-spirited men—aqueducts, fountains, and monumental bridges.

There stands, on the other hand, the overtopping evil of greed—the greed of the crown, of the Church, of nobles, of officials, of the trading classes. This made Spain the first plutocratic power of modern times, counting these times from the great discoveries of new lands in the West. For poor Spain money has truly been the root of all evil. The dreams of avarice found

realization in the Indies. With thousands and thousands of Spaniards, from viceroys and captain-generals down to clerks and porters, the ruling ambition was to get quick wealth and return to Spain for its enjoyment. Impoverished noblemen crossed the seas and amassed new estates that far surpassed those they had squandered, and from the rough winners of new-world treasure the ranks of the Spanish aristocracy have been recruited from that day to this. Abundant examples in our own land bear witness that polish and elegance are speedy fruits of leisurely riches, and it is therefore not specially remarkable that the greater volume of Spain's "gentlest blood" flows from fountains first tapped by traders, delvers, and plunderers of the realm. In no land more than in Spain itself is it better appreciated by the really intelligent and cultivated classes—among whom democratic ideals are widely and sincerely held—that the main sources of aristocracies are sordid, ignoble, and infamous, and nowhere are the vices, the frivolities, and the low standards that prevail among bearers of titles more detested.

A prominent social element in Spanish life is supplied by the *indianos*—men who have accumulated fortunes in the Indies and returned to Spain for their enjoyment. In the very notable contemporary fiction of Spain the authors find delight in the types furnished by these *indianos*, who are commonly depicted with all the vulgarity, uncouthness, ignorance, vanity, and ostentatiousness possible to the newly rich. They are men who commonly have worked themselves up from the humblest ranks of trade, gaining no knowledge of the world beyond the narrow confines of their vocations. Men like these have been raised to ducal rank! The evolution of these *indianos*, in all its stages, may be observed in Havana and other Cuban cities, where they form a very large element in the population. From these Spanish residents are largely recruited the *voluntarios*, that sinister element in modern Cuban history; and to them and to the allied commercial elements at home, so powerful in Spanish politics, is very largely to be ascribed the stubborn persistence of Spain in resisting, to her own destruction, all concessions that might have averted conflict.

It is ominous of the power of money in this wealth-fertile age that with all the liberalizing tendencies of the nineteenth century, the Spanish rule in Cuba has steadily increased in autocratic harshness since 1825. In that year, by royal decree, the office of captain-general was invested with despotic powers, and these have since remained an attribute of the place. This measure was soon after followed by the establishment of the practice of filling the offices of the colonial

administration with Spanish politicians, whose corruption and abuses became unbearable. When, in 1836, the Spanish Liberals obtained a constitutional government at Madrid absolutism was continued in Cuba, and the next year the island was even deprived of parliamentary representation. Tacon had been made captain-general, and he exercised his dictatorial authority with extreme severity. The renewed constitution of Spain had been proclaimed at Santiago de Cuba by his subordinate, General Lorenzo, but Tacon reversed the act and sent Lorenzo in disgrace back to Spain, whence he had been commissioned a few months before by the Liberal ministry. That ministry, instead of rebuking Tacon for his insubordination, confirmed the punishment that was practically a defiance for themselves, discrediting, as it did, their own position.

Even the proclamation of the Spanish republic brought no amelioration to Cuba, and the home government continued the autocratic rule in the island. When under the restored monarchy Campos brought about peace by the promise of autonomy and other reforms demanded, the home government violated his pledges. The only benefit that Cuba gained from the ten years' struggle was that by the Moret law the abolition of slavery was hastened; gradual emancipation having been decreed in 1870, ten years later, in partial fulfillment of the promises made by Campos, the process was so accelerated that the institution entirely disappeared from the island in 1887.

It must not be forgotten that our own country is not without responsibility for the long-continued subjection of Cuba to Spain. The Panama congress of American republics, proposed by the South American states and held in 1826, was projected on the basis of the Monroe doctrine. But the slave States of our Union saw in this congress a danger to their cherished institution. Every Spanish-American republic had abolished slavery on achieving independence, and it was feared that the influence of this congress would lead to like results in Cuba. Therefore when President John Quincy Adams nominated commissioners to represent the United States at this congress, it was made evident in the Senate that between Cuban independence with abolition and Cuban subjection to Spain with slavery our slave States would prefer the latter. The confirmation of the commissioners by the Senate was therefore conditioned upon a close limitation of their functions. In consequence the participation of the United States in the congress was of such a nature as to make its influence powerless. But for the attitude of our country on that occasion it is probable that Spain would speedily have been driven from Cuba. A proposed invasion of

Cuba by Mexican and Colombian forces under Bolivar was abandoned, and it became understood that Spain's possession of Cuba and Porto Rico was thenceforward not to be disputed.

The sufferings of Cuba thereupon became acute. In this country sympathy therewith was affected by the long and bitter agitation over the domestic slave question. Movements for the acquisition of the island in the interest of slavery were started on the annexation of Texas, during the war with Mexico, and on the termination of that war. President Polk's proposition to buy Cuba was antagonized by the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Even a mild liberalizing tendency on the part of the Spanish Government was sufficient to excite Southern wrath. In 1854 Captain-General Pezuela decreed measures for the emancipation of slaves advanced in years. So sensitive was the South that the act was regarded as a menace to slavery in this country, and the ensuing agitation brought about various complications that came near producing war between the United States and Spain.

A trinity of evils—negro slavery, commercial selfishness, and official corruption—have been the root of Cuba's woe. Slavery intensified the motives for Spanish oppression. Externally it caused this country, first, to exert its influence in behalf of Spanish tenure, and then to antagonize that tenure only for the sake of maintaining and perpetuating the iniquity. In the great insurrection of 1868-78 it was the interest of Cuban slaveholders that prevented the concessions which at any time might have ended the struggle.

In the present contest the factor of negro slavery no longer appears. The two other evils now dominate. The part they play is an acute manifestation of two of the most vicious elements in the life of nations. Sordid commercialism, everywhere and always blind to all else than its own immediate gain and incapable of perceiving those things that constitute true commercial prosperity, had long been intent only on holding the trade of Cuba in Spanish hands. It is not necessary to trace the steps whereby this power makes itself felt in politics and in the activities of the government of Spain. Its ally is the horde of officials who for nearly a century have been free to prey on Cuba both in civil and military activities. Here blackest self-seeking has masqueraded as patriotism, draining Spain of her wealth and of her life-blood for its own emolument.

In view of the foregoing, it seems remarkable that Spanish mercantile character should hold the highest rank for integrity and for honorable dealing, while official life in Spain and her dependencies should be proverbially corrupt. Herein the case of China furnishes a notable parallel. How

comes it that, with the people inherently honest, the official life of a nation should be appallingly corrupt? Possibly the explanation may be that the true character of the people finds an expression in mercantile character, while the character of official life is a result of imposed control; a parasitic growth working downward and rankly flourishing where popular hands are powerless to restrain.

In Mexico to-day the activity of Spaniards so pervades the commercial and industrial life of the country that it is frequently characterized as "the second conquest." Spaniards have a remarkable aptitude for business affairs. They are singularly vigorous, energetic, and commercially enterprising. They carry on large financial and industrial undertakings very extensively. Certain important lines of business are practically monopolized by them; the greatest bank in Mexico is in their hands; all over the country they own and administer great agricultural estates, conduct large manufacturing enterprises, and in many parts they practically hold the purse-strings of the community. Much as the aggressive character of the *gachupines* (as the Spaniards have been called since the days of the Aztecs) has earned them the dislike of the less active and more gentle native population, their sterling honesty is held in such esteem that it is not uncommon to find them sought by Mexican business men or owners of great estates for responsible positions in the conduct of important enterprises.

This predominance has been achieved by Spaniards in the absence of all the conditions that have given them preference in the colonial possessions of their country; they have come to the front in spite of popular antagonism born of generations of dislike, and with no advantages beyond the very great one conferred by a community of language, together with the traits of natural capacity, mental keenness, and a "get-there" spirit born of intense vitality and robust physique.

The view that regards the Spanish as a decadent and degenerate people is a most mistaken one. Granting the severest things that can be said of the national organization of Spain and its dire results for a great part of the world, the national character is something quite different. The valiant spirit, heroic and self-sacrificing, that enabled Spain to turn Napoleon's path from the heights of victorious renown down toward the depths of defeat, is by no means dead. It has, indeed, followed evil guidance in support of false pride, in the vain endeavor to hold what by right had been forfeited. It has paid the cost with well-nigh half a million lives and with treasure that might have lifted the land out of its poverty.

The intellectual power of the nation that gave to the world Cervantes and the great dramatists still persists. In contemporary literature the masters of Spanish fiction stand the peers of their contemporaries in all other lands. They have made the beautiful Castilian tongue a plastic vehicle for modern thought, and in sagacity, humor, breadth of vision, sanity of temperament, and humane spirit they are rightful heirs to the mantle of Cervantes. With so large a proportion of their countrymen illiterate and penniless, their pens have had little of the sordid in their incentive, and their single-minded following of high ideals has not been less than that which inspired the writing of "Don Quixote."

The peasantry of Spain is marked by admirable traits. These poor and sturdy people are frugal, industrious, temperate, patient under heavy burdens, ground down by a crude and extortionate fiscal system, and doomed to grievous toil. Once let enlightenment and freedom come to them, and Spain will stand redeemed among nations.

As to the dark side of the Spanish—the cruelties, the oppression and persecution of subject peoples, the atrocities committed in the endeavors to maintain national sovereignty beyond the sea—these may be frankly conceded. But these things have been sufficiently dwelt upon by others. All warfare is an atrocity, a wholesale breaking of the divine command. No nation—even the most enlightened—is without black sin here.

The faults of a foreign people are too often the first things seen by them that go among them—and fault is all too apt to be but a name for something unfamiliar. But the message of modern enlightenment enjoins the peoples of the world to know each other. That is what human progress

means. Neither race prejudice nor antagonism of interest should blind us to the fact that the Spanish people have merits that, as with humankind perhaps everywhere, far outweigh their demerits. Faults of environment, of circumstance, are not inherent faults in nations any more than in persons.

Probably the greatest blessing that can befall Spain will be the loss of all her colonies. They have been the source of her troubles, the cause of her national decline. They have brought the curse of gold upon her. They have diverted the energies and the expenditures of her people from her own needs at home. Spain has magnificent internal resources as yet undeveloped. Let the energies of her people once be directed within, and they will understand what obstacles have blocked the way so long. Reforms will follow. Abuses will be swept away. Popular enlightenment will come. With the passing of Spain's colonial might will dawn the renascence of Spain.

As to commercial prosperity, that should continue upon truer lines under the new conditions. Spanish commercial interests in Mexico are now on a healthier basis than they have been in Cuba for long years past, for in the daughter state they are not pampered by favoritism and privilege. Independent intercourse with the severed colonies will continue, and lines of trade will shape themselves naturally and legitimately. Ancient rancor will gradually disappear and Spanish commercial energy may be depended upon to secure room for its exercise. Spain, regenerate, will be the mother country for the nations of *ultramar* that speak her tongue, in the same regard that England is mother to lands in the seven seas, and will stand second only to England in the number of her children.



BRITISH GREETINGS AND TRIBUTES TO AMERICA.

LAST month we published a selection of greetings and tributes in verse addressed by American writers to Great Britain. It seems appropriate to reprint in this number a few characteristic poems giving expression to the fraternal regard of the English people for their American cousins.

The first place in such a collection belongs of right to Tennyson's "Hands All Round," published in 1852, when England was in sore need of friendly aid, and not included in any subsequent edition of Tennyson's poems down to the time of his death :

Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood.
We know thee most, we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?
Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours.
Hands all round!
God the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen of the West, my friends,
And the great name of England round and round.

A conspicuous instance of British willingness to award generous recognition of what is worthy and true in American character was the publication of Tom Taylor's famous poem in the *London Punch*, immediately after the assassination of President Lincoln. To appreciate Taylor's verses one must remember that the poet had found in Lincoln the butt of his most telling witticisms. We reproduce the poem entire as it appeared in *Punch*:

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier !
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please !

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain !

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet—
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer—
To lame my pencil and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learned to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows:

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—
As one who knows where there's a task to do;
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command,

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his pleasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude nature's thwarting mights;

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train:
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long suffering years
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest !

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

We reprinted last month Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich's lines suggested by Mr. William Watson's sonnets on the Armenian situation in 1896. Following are the lines especially addressed to the United States by Mr. Watson apropos of the Venezuela argument:

O towering daughter, Titan of the West,
Behind a thousand leagues of foam secure;
Thou toward whom our inmost heart is pure
Of ill intent; although thou threatenest
With most unflial hand thy mother's breast,
Not for one breathing-space may Earth endure
The thought of War's intolerable cure
For such vague pains avex to-day thy rest!
But if thou hast more strength than thou canst spend
In tasks of Peace, and find'st her yoke too tame,
Help us to smite the cruel, to befriend
The succorless, and put the false to shame.
So shall the ages laud thee, and thy name
Be lovely among nations to the end.

The recent verses of the laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin, are familiar to most of our readers:

What is the voice I hear
On the wind of the Western Sea?
Sentinel, listen from out Cape Clear,
And say what the voice may be.

"Tis a proud, free people calling loud to a people proud and free.

" And it says to them, 'Kinsmen, hail!
We severed have been too long;
Now let us have done with a worn-out tale,
The tale of an ancient wrong,
And our friendship last long as love doth last, and be
stronger than death is strong.'"

Answer them, sons of the self-same race,
And blood of the self-same clan;
Let us speak with each other, face to face,
And answer as man to man,
And loyally love and trust each other as none but free men
can.

Now fling them out to the breeze,
Shamrock, thistle, and rose,
And the Star-Spangled Banner unfurl with these,
A message to friends and foes
Wherever the sails of peace are seen and wherever the
war wind blows.

A message to bond and thrall to wake,
For wherever we come, we twain,
The throne of the tyrant shall rock and quake
And his menace be void and vain,
For you are lords of a strong young land and we are lords
of the main.

Yes, this is the voice on the bluff March gale,
" We severed have been too long;
But now we have done with a worn-out tale,
The tale of an ancient wrong,
And our friendship last long as love doth last, and be
stronger than death is strong."

The following lines, headed "On the Eve," appeared in the London *Daily Chronicle* just before the declaration of our war with Spain:

America! dear brotherland!
While yet the shotted guns are mute,
Accept a brotherly salute,
A hearty grip of England's hand.

To-morrow, when the sulphurous glow
Of war shall dim the stars above,
Be sure the star of England's love
Is over you, come weal, come woe.

Go forth in hope! go forth in might!
To all your nobler self be true,
That coming times may see in you
The vanguard of the hosts of light.

Though wrathful Justice load and train
Your guns, be every breach they make
A gateway pierced for Mercy's sake,
That Peace may enter in and reign.

Then, should the hosts of darkness band
Against you, lowering thunderously,
Flash the word "Brother!" o'er the sea,
And England at your side shall stand

Exulting! For though dark the night,
And sinister with scud and rack,
The hour that brings us back to back
But harbinger the larger light.

After the war began there appeared in the Devizes (England) *Advertiser* these lines, headed "The Strong and the Right:"

Sons of the self-same mothers,
Englishmen, cheer for your brothers.
Cheer for them, cheer for the Strong,
Cheer them on to the fight:
Cheer for the Strong and the Right,
Not for the Weak and the Wrong.
What reck we of the others?
They—the Strong—are our brothers,
Joined by the bond that joins
Seed of the self-same loins;
Speaking the self-same tongue;
Flesh of us, bone of our bone;
Hearts of oak as our own;
Puiissant, exultingly young,
Oaks from the old oak sprung.
What reck we of the others,
Baleful sons of the night—
Night and the murk that smothers:
Liberty, conscience, light.
Truth, and the future's hope?
Shame would it be to be dumb.
Europe is chained by her kings;
Freedom may bleed—she is numb..
Ah, but the Eagle has wings
Fearless and far in their flight!
Soon in the hour of our need
Word may be answered with deed..
Hark to the roar of the gun!
Herald of storm that is near.
Heed we in time as we hear!
France with her million swords
Moves with the Muscovite hordes.
Now is the time to unite
Brother with brother as one.
Cheer for the Strong and the Right!

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE PHILIPPINES?

MR. JOHN FOREMAN, an Englishman who for some years lived in the Philippines, and whose writings for the last two or three years have been the chief source of popular information on the subject, contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for July an article in which he discourses upon the future of the islands. He is hopeful, although under no delusion as to the possibility of governing the Philippine Islands on the principles of the Declaration of Independence. He says that the insurrection which broke out in August, 1896, was in no sense republican in its nature. It had as its object the removal of certain specific, well-defined grievances. He says :

"The movement had for its objects (1) the expulsion of the monastic orders ; (2) the abolition of the governor-general's arbitrary power to banish without accusation, trial, or sentence ; (3) restoration to the natives of the lands held by the religious orders ; (4) a limitation of the arbitrary powers of the civil guard ; (5) no arrest without judge's warrant ; (6) abolition of the fifteen days per annum compulsory labor."

AGUINALDO AND HIS REPUBLIC.

Aguinaldo, the leader of the revolt, is a smart, intelligent man of about thirty years of age. He is a landed proprietor who has served as petty governor of his native town in Cavite. By the arrangement between him and Admiral Dewey, Mr. Foreman says :

"It is provisionally agreed that Aguinaldo shall set up a local republic. General Aguinaldo's plan is to establish at Manila a congress to which deputies from all the principal islands will be invited. I do not hesitate to prophesy that unless under European or American control, the scheme will end in complete failure. At first, no doubt, the islanders will welcome and coöperate in any arrangement which will rid them of monastic oppression. The Philippine Islands, however, would not remain one year peaceful under an independent native government. It is an utter impossibility. There is such racial antipathy that the Visayans would not, in this generation, submit to what they would always consider a Tagalog republic, and the Tagalogs, having procured the overthrow of the Spaniards, would naturally resent a preponderance of Visaya influence. Families there are very closely united, but as a people they have

little idea of union. Who would be the electors ? The masses are decidedly too ignorant to be capable of voting intelligently. The votes would be entirely controlled by cliques of land-owners.

"If the native republic did succeed, it would not be strong enough to protect itself against foreign aggression. The islands are a splendid group, well worth picking a quarrel and spending a few millions sterling to annex them. I entertain the firm conviction that an unprotected united republic would last only until the novelty of the situation had worn off. Then, I think, every principal island would, in turn, declare its independence. Finally, there would be complete chaos, and before that took root America or some European nation would probably have interfered ; therefore it is better to start with protection. I cannot doubt that General Aguinaldo is quite alive to these facts ; nevertheless I admire his astuteness in entering on any plan which, by hook or by crook, will expel the friars. If the republic failed, at least monastic power would never return.

WANTED—A PROTECTORATE.

"A protectorate under a strong nation is just as necessary to insure good administration in the islands as to protect them against foreign attack. Either Great Britain or America would be equally welcome to the islanders if they had not the vanity to think they could govern themselves. Unless America decided to start on a brand-new policy, it would hardly suit her, I conjecture, to accept the mission of a protectorate so distant from her chief interests. England, having ample resources so near at hand, would probably find it a less irksome task. For the reasons given above the control would have to be a very direct one. I would go so far as to suggest that the government should be styled 'The Philippine Protectorate.' There might be a Chamber of Deputies, with a native president. The protector and his six advisers should be American or English. The functions of ministers should be vested in the advisers, and those of president (of a republic) in the protector. In any case, the finances could not be confided to a native. The inducement to finance himself would be too great. All races should be represented in the Chamber."

Should this proposal be carried out, Mr. Foreman thinks the future of the Philippines will astonish the world. He says :

"The islands are extremely fertile and will produce almost anything to be found in the tropics. I estimate that barely one-fourth of the tillable land is now under cultivation. There is at present only one railroad, of one hundred and twenty miles. A number of lines would have to be constructed in Luzon, Panay, Negros, Cebú, and Mindanao Islands. Companies would probably take up the contracts on ninety years' working concession and ninety-nine years' lease of acreage in lieu of guaranteed interest. The lands would become immensely valuable to the railroad companies and an enormous source of taxable wealth to the protectorate. Road-making should be taken up on treasury account and bridge construction on contract, to be paid for by toll concessions. The port of Iloilo should be improved, the custom-houses abolished, and about ten more free ports opened to the world. Under the protectorate undoubtedly capital would flow into the Philippines."

THE PEOPLE OF HAWAII.

THE inspector-general of Hawaiian schools, Mr. Henry S. Townsend, contributes to the July *Forum* an interesting study of social conditions in his adopted land. The article takes on a new importance from the recent action of Congress in annexing these islands to the United States. Mr. Townsend disclaims any intention of furnishing arguments for or against annexation, declaring that his sole purpose is to present the truth.

In Mr. Townsend's opinion the aboriginal Hawaiian race has been "persistently misrepresented and misunderstood." The original Hawaiians were not cannibals, though they were degraded. Mr. Townsend admits, of course, that contact with Europeans and Americans resulted in moral degradation to both races, since the natives were passive and easily influenced; but when the New England missionaries came they found the remnant of the population susceptible to good influences also, and the whole people was converted to Christianity. Within ten years after the landing of the first missionaries the native language had been reduced to written form, and a large proportion of the people was able to read and write, and these natives were the grandparents of the present generation of Hawaiians, many of whom now read and write the English language in addition to their own, English being now the language of all the schools.

Mr. Townsend's testimony regarding educational results in Hawaii is significant:

"When first I came among the Hawaiian

people I was surprised to find the school children able to put to shame, with their knowledge of Garfield, Grant, Lincoln, Washington, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismarck, 'Unser Fritz,' Nelson, and Napoleon, the American school children with whom I had come in contact. Although the Hawaiian press has deteriorated somewhat since that time, Hawaiian newspapers still give a greater amount of news from foreign lands than would be appreciated by the readers of American country newspapers. Our statistics of literacy are liable to give a false impression, since they include all persons over six years of age. But it is as rare an occurrence to find an illiterate adult Hawaiian in Hawaii as it is to find an illiterate adult American in the most favored State in the Union; and such has been the case for a generation. Yet these are the people who must bear the brunt of the malice or ignorance of cartoonists and writers, who think it funny to caricature them as ridiculous savages."

Having had ample opportunity to weigh the comparative merits and defects of the American and Hawaiian educational standards, Mr. Townsend affirms as his deliberate judgment that "our educational system is somewhat more comprehensive, the annual term is somewhat longer, the attendance at school is somewhat better, and the ability to read and write is somewhat more general among our native-born population than is the case in the average agricultural community in America. And the contributions of our people to the scientific and polite literature of the day are more liberal than those of the average of similarly circumstanced American communities."

THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENT.

Mr. Townsend devotes considerable attention to those elements in the present Hawaiian population that are usually regarded as especially undesirable, if not positively dangerous. He explains that the rapid industrial development of the country under the stimulus of the reciprocity treaty with the United States created a demand for plantation laborers which the native population was unable to supply. The government took the matter in hand and decided to encourage and assist the immigration of Portuguese from the Azores and other islands. In the course of a few years 11,000 of these people were assisted into the country.

As to the general character of this immigration Mr. Townsend says:

"As plantation laborers they were entirely satisfactory. They were industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding. Naturally they have now almost ceased to do the work of plantation laborers.

They are teamsters, mechanics, overseers of labor, merchants, and landed proprietors. As teamsters and overseers they are still found in considerable numbers on the plantations. They have teams of their own in many cases, do teaming for hire, and take contracts for public and other works. As carpenters and blacksmiths they ply their trade in the usual manner of agricultural communities; and their stonecutters' skill has done much to popularize and develop the trade in the beautiful building stone now used in Honolulu's finest buildings. As merchants they do not often carry on large business enterprises, and they seldom have business in the bankruptcy courts. A few of them own stock ranches of considerable size, but the majority of the landowners take to the 'little farm well tilled.' They are famous as fruit-growers and noted for their skill in making small pieces of land produce large returns. Nearly all the original labor contracts expired ten years ago, and few laborers are now working under new contracts. They are perfectly free to go to whatever land seems to them best. Many have gone to California and many others have returned to Portugal. The total immigration of Portuguese up to the present time has been 11,760. The census of 1896 showed the number of Portuguese in the islands to be 15,191."

From Mr. Townsend's account it would appear that the Portuguese in Hawaii cause far less trouble there than do the lower classes of Italians, Poles, and Bohemians employed as miners in some of our States.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE.

Mr. Townsend admits that some of the objections urged against the Chinese population have validity, but he believes that as a rule the Chinese of Hawaii are superior to those of California, while economic conditions are essentially similar.

The Japanese in Hawaii, Mr. Townsend frankly admits, are objectionable:

"The objection to them, however, is not that they are Japanese, but that so large a percentage of them is of the lower classes. They are not good representatives of the intelligence and the culture of the Empire of the Rising Sun. Have not similar complaints against the immigrants coming into the United States from Europe resounded for the past twenty years? And are not such complaints well founded? The Japanese are reasonably industrious and well disposed. As a class they are law-abiding, though individuals of this nationality commit a fair percentage of our crimes. Yet the officers of the law have never encountered any serious resistance to

their authority at the hands of the Japanese. Sudden outbursts of temper have caused a number of them to commit the most serious crimes during the past year. These crimes have been directed against their own countrymen, and in most instances have been attributable to the disparity of the sexes, there being four times as many men as women. In all such cases the law takes its even course, being scarcely resisted by the criminal himself and never meeting with any organized resistance on the part of the Japanese. There is no *mafia* among them.

"But wherein is the occasion for so much anxiety on the part of Americans concerning our Japanese people? It seems to be assumed on the part of some that in the event of annexation our Japanese will all flock to California. Why, then, are they not doing so now? And why have they not been doing so for the past ten years? Large numbers of them have been perfectly free to do so, so far as the laws of the two countries are concerned. In the event of annexation they will not be freer to go. Yet they have not gone in any great numbers. The fact is that they have the intelligence to appreciate a good thing while they have it. And it is safe to say that in case of annexation they will not all lose their heads, though the example may be set them by those who claim to be their betters."

THE REAL RULERS OF THE ISLANDS.

The Americans, British, Germans, and Norwegians who constitute the remainder of the population number only about 7,000 men, women, and children, of whom 2,200 are of island birth. These people control the destinies of Hawaii. As to the civilization of the people Mr. Townsend says:

"As a whole, our people are law-abiding. This is not saying that our laws are not broken. Of course they are broken; and they will continue to be broken so long as we continue to need laws. But all elements of our population acquiesce in the even administration of justice by our regularly constituted courts of law and equity. Lynchings are defended by the inhabitants of certain regions in the United States on the ground of their necessity. Of this I have nothing to say. I am not a judge of the necessities of the different localities in America, but I can say that we have no need to resort to such undesirable expedients in the name of justice. Men sleep in safety of property and person in houses unlocked, and women travel unattended and without fear in every district of the islands. Perhaps these also are points of difference.

"We have socialists and reformers who find fault with our industrial and social organization.

They point out the fact that we have trusts and syndicates that are able practically to traffic in the rights and interests of their fellow-men. Yet this will hardly be claimed as a point of difference. The same is doubly true of America. But we have neither almshouses nor mendicants, and there is nothing in our population to correspond with the tramp or the 'beat.' Here seems to be a genuine difference."

ANGLO-SAXON FEDERATION.

IN the *Arena* for August Mr. B. O. Flower sums up the arguments in favor of Anglo-American union as follows:

"1. The union of the English-speaking world in one mighty phalanx, to secure the realization of the aims of liberal and progressive governments to further the best interests of civilization, to oppose by influence and education the reactionary currents of despotism, and to foster free thought, free speech, and enlarged suffrage.

"2. With such a union, England and the United States would be so nearly invincible that there would be little danger of war, while the Anglo-Saxon would have a voice in the political and commercial affairs of that larger life which affects civilization, second to that of no continental power. Such a union would be able to secure for civilization, progress, and humanity the authority which the English-speaking races should exert, but can only exercise in the event of such a union as is proposed.

"3. Coaling stations all over the world would by special agreement undoubtedly be open to the ships of England and the United States. This would be a great saving in expense and an immense factor of vantage in time of war.

"4. With such cordial relations existing, the people of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India would touch hands in one mighty federation of brotherhood, whose bonds of friendship would grow as time elapsed, and in every English-speaking port our people would be at home and among friends.

"5. Nothing else could so foster commerce. With such a union and such amicable relations existing, our commerce would move forward with giant strides. Between England and the United States there would doubtless be rivalry in this domain of activity, but it would be a friendly rivalry, and one that would soon cause the Anglo-Saxon peoples to enjoy the lion's share of the world's commerce, as Spain and Portugal enjoyed it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

"To recapitulate, these things may be put down as results which would be achieved by

such a union: The supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the spread of constitutional government, based on an ever-broadening suffrage; the checking of the threatening aggressions of absolutism; the fostering of free speech and free thought through the world; the union of people so formidable as to make war almost impossible; the commercial supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the placing of the United States second to no commercial power; and, lastly, the securing of an ally which would prevent any continental power from meddling with American affairs."

Meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's Speech.

Mr. Chamberlain's declaration in favor of an Anglo-American alliance is the text of an interesting article by "Diplomaticus" in the *Fortnightly* for July, entitled "Is There an Anglo-American Understanding?" "Diplomaticus," who is well known as one of the closest editorial students of imperial politics, argues tentatively in favor of the hypothesis that an understanding has actually been concluded between the cabinets of London and Washington. He says:

"Mr. Chamberlain's speech is, to my mind, an official intimation that the ideal of Anglo-Saxon unity is passing from dreamland to the sphere of practical politics."

ENGLAND'S CHANGE OF FRONT.

"Diplomaticus" then sets forth the reasons why he thinks that there was something behind Mr. Chamberlain's speech more than mere sentiment. First of all he lays stress upon the fact that American sentiment has hitherto regarded England not as a natural ally, but rather as a natural enemy. This speech has also followed upon a complete reversal of the traditional policy of England in relation to Cuba. In 1852 Great Britain and France proposed to the United States a tripartite treaty by which they bound themselves severally and collectively to renounce forever all intention to take possession of Cuba. When President Fillmore rejected this and suggested that Cuba was no concern of England and France, Lord John Russell wrote a dispatch in which he declared that her majesty's government repudiated any claim on the part of the United States that Great Britain and France had no interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* in Cuba. In 1875 the United States herself recognized European rights in the question, and appealed for the support of the powers before deciding upon intervention. All the powers were hostile, and the intervention was abandoned. Yet to-day Great Britain alone has abandoned the old policy, and has supported the right of the United States to intervene alone in Cuba

without reference to Europe. "Diplomaticus" says :

"The truth is that the service rendered the United States by our undisguised sympathy is out of all proportion to any visible compensations. Without it the war would probably not have taken place, and America would have had to bear the Cuban nuisance for yet another generation."

WHAT IS ENGLAND GETTING ?

He thinks it therefore improbable that such a right-about face could have taken place without a *quid pro quo*. What is that *quid pro quo* ?

"A political understanding with the United States must take the same course as similar arrangements between other nations. However much it may be strengthened afterward by an awakened sense of racial affinity and of common political ideals, its basis must be a community of material interests, and those interests must be ascertained and agreed upon in the usual way. I come back to the question, Is there such an understanding ?"

The understanding which he thinks must exist can only have reference to the policy of the open door in China. He says :

"Understanding of which I have argued the probable existence is based on the recognition of the identity of the interests of England and America in the markets of the far East, and the further recognition that this identity of interests deprives us of our chief excuse for fettering the liberty of American action in Cuba ? The two questions are really one, for the importance of Cuba in our eyes is very largely that it is a possible blockhouse of great strategical value on the interoceanic highway, which will one day deepen the community of Anglo-American interests in the open door of the far East. That it should be in the possession or under the tutelage of a power bound to us by every tie which makes for enduring political union, is almost as much an advantage as the contrary is a disadvantage.

"Of course all this may be the merest day-dreaming. The responsibility, however, is not mine ; it is Mr. Chamberlain's. For what are the alternatives ? There are three :

"1. If the cabinet has not abandoned the principle of isolation in its foreign policy, Mr. Chamberlain ought, on his own showing, to have ceased to hold his portfolio.

"2. If it has abandoned that principle, but has not yet concluded an understanding with a foreign power, Mr. Chamberlain has, by his Birmingham speech, placed it in a position in which it will be difficult for it to conduct the negotiations on equal terms.

"3. If our new ally is not the United States,

we have made concessions to that power which ought not to have been made without solid compensations, and there is no evidence of such compensations having been obtained by us."

"BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER."

THIS famous expression of an American naval commander seems likely to become the watchword of the agitation in England for closer relations with the United States. The story of the origin of this historic phrase has been often told. In the London *Spectator* of June 25 last the facts are related by a correspondent using the signature "R." His account is all the more interesting because it gives the English version of the incident. It was on the Peiho River, in China, in the summer of 1859. The treaty of Tient-sin between England and China had been concluded, and had to be formally ratified at Pekin, June 26. Admiral Hope, with a British squadron, was unable to reach the mouth of the Peiho River until June 19. But next day, when he attempted to proceed up the river to Pekin, he found that the Chinese had blocked its mouth by three barriers and had rebuilt the forts which had been destroyed the year before. Orders were given to him by the British minister, Mr. Bruce, with whom the French minister was acting, to remove the obstacles and to proceed to Pekin as rapidly as possible. Admiral Hope had under his command only eleven small gunboats, mounting thirty guns between them. On the morning of the 25th the little squadron began the accomplishment of its task. The first barrier was successfully removed without firing a shot, but when the boats reached the second barrier, which lay midway between the guns of the forts on either side of the river, the Chinese opened fire with forty heavy pieces of artillery upon the two leading British vessels.

AMERICAN AID TO BRITISH SAILORS.

"At this instant the admiral made the signal, 'Support me by engaging the enemy more closely,' and this signal he kept flying the whole day. Never was a British admiral in greater need of support, and never was his appeal more nobly responded to. It seemed to be the object of the Chinese to annihilate the flagship, and so well trained were their guns on the space between the first and second barriers that within twenty minutes of opening fire the *Plover* and *Opossum* had so many killed and wounded that their batteries were completely silenced. It was at this critical period of the fight that the Americans rendered such assistance to the sorely tried British. Captain Tattnall, commodore of the American squad-

ron in the China seas, had been watching the treacherous attack on the British squadron from the *Toey-Wan*, a small steamer of very light draught. The commodore, who was a great character in his way, at last, seeing the desperate condition of the British admiral, could stand it no longer. Observing that 'blood was thicker than water, and he was damned if he was going to see white men butchered before his eyes,' he ordered his barge and announced his intention of paying an 'official visit' to the British admiral. The commodore rowed through a storm of shot and shell, one round shot going through the American ensign in the stern of the boat, cutting it to ribbons, and was wildly cheered by our people as he passed through the fleet. Just as he reached the flagship his barge was again struck and sank alongside. The Americans, however, managed to scramble on board, only to find Admiral Hope, desperately wounded, seated in an arm-chair on deck, still directing the fight.

HOW THE AMERICAN CAPTAIN SAVED THE DAY.

"Tattnall, after exchanging a few words with Hope, sent his boat's crew forward to man the big eight-inch gun there, the whole crew of which had been either killed or disabled. His men responded with alacrity, and for the next hour and a half this gun was worked entirely by American seamen until relieved by a fresh crew from another gunboat. Borrowing a boat from the *Plover*, Tattnall then returned to the *Toey-Wan*, and knowing that the British reserves, who had been placed in sailing junks at the beginning of the action, were sorely needed, and that without a steamer there was no means of getting them to the front, took them in tow himself, and started boldly up the river with 600 fresh British seamen behind him. Nor was this the last occasion on which Tattnall rendered us assistance on this disastrous day. After the landing party had been driven back and had retreated to their boats, they found that many of the boats had been destroyed by the enemy and that there were not enough to take off all the seamen. Realizing this, Tattnall got his light-draught *Toey-Wan* close into the shore, and in this way took the fugitives aboard, thus saving many a life that would otherwise have been sacrificed. In this unfortunate affair we lost 434 killed and wounded out of a total of 1,100 engaged, and out of our eleven gunboats six were either sunk by the enemy's fire or had to be abandoned in a sinking condition. It was not till the following year that Sir Hope Grant, with 10,000 British and 7,000 French troops, was able to avenge our defeat by destroying the forts and occupying the imperial city of Pekin itself."

INTERNATIONAL PIRACY IN TIME OF WAR.

IN the *North American Review* for July Mr. W. L. Penfield directs attention to the anomaly in the present state of international law as regards the inviolability of private property in war. He shows that while in war on land booty has become unlawful and the rights of private property are generally respected, in war on the high seas booty is still a lawful object and private property of the enemy's subjects is liable to capture and confiscation.

PRIVATE PROPERTY SHOULD BE FREE.

"The Declaration of Paris abolished one form of piracy by privateering; it abolished another of its forms by protecting all goods, whether enemy or neutral (except contraband of war), from capture on the high seas under the neutral flag. But one necessary step remains to be taken—in the adoption of the principle of the inviolability on the high seas of all private property, except contraband of war, whether found in neutral or enemy bottoms. Its adoption has found an obstacle in the frequent association of two phrases—'free ships, free goods' and 'enemy ships, enemy goods.' The one has been treated as the corollary of the other; and although the latter has so far given way that neutral goods in enemy ships are free, it remains as an imaginary maxim to sanction the spoliation of private enemy property. The association of the phrases has done mischief enough. They should give way to the broader maxim that on the high seas all private property, excepting contraband of war, is free. The persistent conjoined use of the phrases is a curious illustration of the pernicious effects of legal maxims after they have become wholly or partially obsolete under changed conditions. But they have a certain charm. They are alliterative; they are epigrammatic; they stick in the memory. But there is no legal or logical relation between them. The first phrase is a maxim which consecrates a principle. The second is not a maxim because it violates an immutable principle—'Thou shalt not steal,' from friend or enemy—a rule without exception. It is the law of peace; it is the law of war on land, with no exceptions other than those of necessity. And the capture of enemy private property in time of war on the high seas has never been attempted to be justified on the ground that it is larceny or piracy—the true nature of the act—but on the ground of the supposed necessities of warfare of maritime powers, especially of Great Britain, as being its chief effective means of warfare. And the regular men-of-war, as well as the volunteer navy, may exercise the right of capture of enemy

private merchandise and ships, whether contraband of war or not. In maritime warfare this gives advantage to those nations who maintain powerful navies, which grow apace with the expansion and for the protection of their growing commerce."

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES.

There is a growing tendency, however, to limit all warfare, on sea and land, to its true objective—the persons of the armed combatants and contraband of war. Mr. Penfield shows that the attitude of this Government down to the outbreak of the present war has been consistent in its advocacy of the exemption of private property, except contraband of war, from capture:

"It adopted the principle in the treaty of 1785, negotiated by Franklin, with Frederick the Great. In 1823 it proposed its adoption by the governments of England, France, and Russia. In 1856 it refused to accede to the Declaration of Paris in favor of the abolition of privateering unless the principle was adopted, which failed owing to the opposition of Great Britain. In 1861 Mr. Seward favored its acceptance, and in 1870 Mr. Fish expressed to the Prussian Government the hope that 'the Government of the United States may soon be gratified by seeing it universally recognized, as another restraining and harmonizing influence imposed by modern civilization upon the art of war.' In 1871 it was adopted in our treaty with Italy, stipulating that in case of war between them 'the private property of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party,' except in the attempt to enter a blockaded port.

"The attitude of this Government in this respect is fixed; and whatever might be said for or against the adoption of the principle in the present war with Spain, and as to whether Spain would have probably granted or refused reciprocal treatment, in view of the reservation made by it in regard to privateering (in its acceptance of the principles of the Declaration of Paris), all the arguments which led to the early and consistent advocacy of the principle by this Government still obtain."

Mr. Penfield maintains that if the United States seems to be standing by the rule of spoliation in the present war, it is not because the Government has changed its principles or reversed its policy, "but rather from the belief that under all the circumstances, and in view of the gingersly attitude of Spain in regard to privateering, reciprocal treatment would not have been accorded."

MEXICO AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

A WRITER signing himself Laniger D. Kocen contributes to the *Westminster Review* for July a paper on "Mexico and the Hispano-American Conflict," in which he seeks to account for Mexico's apparent lack of sympathy with the United States in the struggle on Cuba's behalf.

This writer finds the root of anti-American feeling among the Mexicans in a sense of injury dating back half a century to the time of American conquest and acquisition of Mexican territory. But there are other causes of antagonism between the two peoples:

"The American character is entirely antagonistic—not intentionally, but naturally—to any assimilation of race or acquisition of sympathetic relations in a foreign land."

While admitting that there is no open expression of dislike nor any animosity displayed in their mutual dealings, this writer insists that the feeling against American men of business resident in Mexico is pronounced and persistent, and that the Mexicans regard themselves as a more cultured people than the Americans.

SPANISH INFLUENCE IN MEXICO.

"The Spanish element is remarkably strong, and Spaniards are, of course, far more numerous than Americans; in fact, some of the principal lines of business throughout the republic are entirely in their hands. The great body of retail shopkeepers, such as the grocers, pawnbrokers, and drapers, are invariably Spaniards. As a class they cannot claim very much superiority over the Americans as regards refinement. They probably represent the lower or lower middle class of their native land, and are certainly not conspicuous for their manners or education. They are, however, a hard-working and useful class, and by the acquisition of wealth and assimilation with the Mexicans are constantly improving and adding to the number of worthy citizens of the country.

"There is, of course, another and far superior class of Spaniard in Mexico, which, although very limited in number, is more representative of Spain.

"The best element of the country is the upper and middle class of Mexicans. The descendants of the Spanish, they have become tempered and improved by their environment, and while retaining the good qualities thereof, appear to have lost in great part those traits of pride and cruelty so characteristic of the progenitors of their race, and to have acquired a love of progress not to be found in Spain. The attachment to the mother country is nevertheless a remarkably strong feature in their moral composition. They point with

pride to their Spanish ancestry, and naturally uphold the traditions of the Latin race.

"The lower element, however, has but little love for the Spanish, who to them are represented by the grasping shopkeepers and their assistants.

"Taken as a whole, the Mexican character is liberal and progressive, and the stranger who takes upon himself to criticise should not point too strongly to the faults in her society, but should rather endeavor to indicate the material and recent improvements therein, and to dwell upon her bright future rather than upon her past.

"Such, then, are the conditions and sentiments prevailing in Mexico, and which influence the sympathies of her people with regard to the unfortunate conflict between Spain and the United States. The ties and traditions of race are seen to be stronger than the abstract love of liberty and equality. Not only in Mexico does this appear to be the case, but, with small exception, the same feeling obtains in the whole of the vast continent to the south.

ATTITUDE OF OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

"Not a voice among the many governments of limitless Latin-America was raised against the oppression of Spain in Cuba. No moral encouragement or support appears to have been given by that numerous and egotistical family who, having cast off one by one their own yoke, and by their own act showing the unrighteousness of the parent rule, nevertheless have stood aloof and watched the cruel castigations of decades fall upon their less fortunate sister of the Antilles, until, neglected by those of her own race whose duty it was to protect her, circumstance has allied her with the Anglo-Saxon, whose action they unite in condemning and whose disinterestedness and humane motives they pretend to deny.

"It would be, of course, as unreasonable to suggest that Mexico should have plunged herself, alone and unaided, into war, simply in freedom's cause, on behalf of the Cubans against Spain, as to suppose that she should now, in the interests of the latter, make common cause therewith against the United States.

"She has served a long and bitter apprenticeship to war and bloodshed, and is now enjoying peace and a stable government, with its accompanying effects of prosperity and progress. Charity in her case certainly begins at home, and it would be impossible to advocate that Mexico should now sustain any other position than that of neutrality. But a coalition of Latin-American republics on behalf of the Cubans at an earlier stage of the present conditions would have been far more in the natural order of things. Now,

however, it is evident that their sympathy is generally with the cause of Spain."

In America's ultimatum to Spain the Latin-American countries pretend to see undue aggressiveness and hunger for territory. With this view the writer does not sympathize. He says in conclusion :

"There can be but one true answer to a question of right and wrong and to unprejudiced reason—whatever may have been the brutalities of language and ignorance of diplomatic usage committed by the representatives of the nation championing the cause of Cuba—the principles upon which their actions are founded are those of humanity and justice, and must go down to history as a factor in the advancement of civilization and in the interests of eternal truth."

THE GOVERNMENT OF "FREE CUBA."

IN the *Contemporary Review* for July Mr. G. C. Musgrave has an interesting article on the past, present, and future of Cuba. We quote from his account of the government established by the insurgents:

"The Cuban Government is established in Camaquey or Puerto Principe, one of the two great provinces that form eastern Cuba. Though professedly a civil authority, it is elected by the army, delegates being sent from each of the twenty-four commands in the island. These representatives elect by vote a president, vice-president, and executive officers for two years. The elections were held in October last, when the aged president, the Marquis of Santa Lucia, retired, and General Maso, also a septuagenarian, took his place. In the western provinces there is much *lex non scripta*, chiefly framed by the exigencies of the situation; but east of the trocha, where there has been no *reconcentracion*, except near the five large seaports, the printed laws of the Cuban republic are to be found in every house. The country here is free Cuba to all intents and purposes, and out of a population of two hundred and eighty-seven thousand persons, few indeed of the pacific 'citizens' have seen a Spanish uniform.

The members of the government are all white men of superior education, the majority having been educated in the United States and speaking English perfectly in consequence. It is absurd for Spain to urge her contention that the rebellion is supported mainly by negroes and half-castes. One-third of the population of Cuba is composed of blacks, half-castes, and Chinese, and the proportion of colored men with the insurgents is about the same. Since Maceo's death there is not a man of color holding an important

position in the Cuban army except General Rabi, the old Indian whose bravery in the field in both wars is unsurpassed. The Vice-President of Cuba, Dr. Capote, was one of Havana's leading lawyers before the war. Dr. Giberga, another lawyer, is brother to the autonomist deputy of that name. Colonel Stirling, secretary of the treasury, is a Cuban of Scotch descent, and graduated at the New York Military Academy. General Lacret, who takes command of the Cuban contingent preparing to assist in the invasion, was educated in Paris. Dr. Silva is a graduate of Philadelphia College, and Judge Fredey, chief of the judiciary, was judge of the *audiencia*, or supreme court, in Havana before the war. I could go on with a long list of leaders who have held excellent positions, but have relinquished all for Cuba *libre*, endured steadfastly the three years of hardship and refused to surrender.

"Until I met the insurgents I shared the popular fallacy that desperadoes and adventurers were making the revolution; but, whatever may have been the character of some of the earlier insurgents, for two years the struggle has been universal—Cuban versus Spaniard—and even those colonials whom business interests have kept outwardly loyal to Spain are secretly favoring the revolution and subscribing money to the cause. In the districts of free Cuba every "citizen" works for the general good, and a system that would obviously fail under ordinary conditions is a great success when prompted by the effusive patriotism existing among the Cubans. All live without rent or direct taxation, but all below the age of forty must work for the republic, some as soldiers, but the majority on their farms to raise food for the army and for general consumption, or in the government factories which turn out arms, passable ammunition, boots, saddles, household utensils, and necessary articles of furniture."

NOT ANNEXATION, BUT INDEPENDENCE.

Mr. Musgrave speaks of the determined hostility of the insurgents to the proposition for annexation to the United States. He says:

"Annexation would hardly be consistent with the protestations of humanity only with which America answers those critics who charge her with land-grabbing, or with her disinterested attitude in the past, when she nobly tried to feed the *reconcentrados* without coming between Spain and the insurgents, and found it impossible to assist a tithe of the needy while the struggle continued. The Cubans in arms are also opposed to annexation, and, indeed, would bitterly fight against it. Independence under the immediate protection of the United States will assuredly be the wisest

policy, while the influx of British and American capital, the opening up of rich interior districts, and the removal of certain proscriptive tariffs, which the Cubans will insist upon, will speedily assure a return of prosperity to the Pearl of the Antilles when secure government is established.

"That the Cubans will form an ideal government I do not say; but that the island will be better governed than other Spanish-American republics is a foregone conclusion. The negro problem is not a difficult one. The proportion of the colored element is much less than in the Southern States, and the Cuban negroes for the most part are an ignorant, indolent, happy-go-lucky race, not eleven years freed from slavery and still greatly influenced by their former owners. The white Cuban of the small farming class is entirely uneducated, but hospitable, honest, and frugal. In the scattered districts of the interior education has been beyond his reach. But it is in the planter class, the once wealthy sugar and tobacco growers, that the hope of Cuba lies. Lacking educational facilities in the island for many years past, all who could afford it sent their children to the United States schools and colleges. Here they have drunk in Anglo-Saxon ideals, and though bred at home in luxury and indolence, the war has taught them lessons that will be invaluable in the future. The Cuban is no longer a Spaniard. Reared under entirely different conditions and its blood recruited by refugees from the French Revolution, by Americans, and by sons of Jamaican planters, chiefly of Scotch descent, who have settled and intermarried with the colonials, a new race has arisen, more refined and cultured, and perhaps more effeminate, than the swarthy bull-fighting sons of Spain, who swarm to Cuba for a season and retire to the peninsula after a few years' toil.

"These Cubans have directed this struggle either actively or by secret help from the outside. Those in the cities formed the autonomy government under General Blanco, not because it was the realization of their ideals, but to secure the gain of half measures in case of failure to accomplish more; and were it politic to do so I could give abundant proof of aid furnished to the revolution by prominent autonomists both before and since the decrees were instituted. I have mixed freely with the peaceful Cubans of all classes, and though many deplore the revolution and its effects, they are unanimously in favor of freedom from Spain's brutal yoke in any shape or form. Under the direction of the United States it will not be the insurgents who will govern the island, but representatives elected by the voice of the Cuban people, and there are men of intelligence in plenty to fill the posts."

THE SPANISH MAGAZINES ON THE WAR.

THE Spanish magazines contain several articles concerning the United States, some dealing with the disagreeable side of American life and institutions, others with its foreign policy and political ambitions. In these articles America is presented in the worst light, but, as a rule, the statements are supported by references and are couched in more temperate language than might have been expected.

Emilio Castelar's usual monthly political chronicle in *España Moderna* consists of a diary of the war, with comments on the events of each day.

In the two numbers of the *Revista Contemporánea* are two articles by Señor Pung y Valls concerning his experience (at the time of the World's Fair) of "Yankee politeness," and some attempts at "slumming" by ladies, old and young, and the ethics of the press in connection with the latter. The other contributions to this review concern the general foreign policy, past, present, and future, of the "United States of North America," as the writers are careful to call them. Capt. Arturo Llopis, of the Spanish navy, traces the policy of the United States with respect to Mexico in the past and Cuba in the past and present, quoting freely from authoritative sources. His conclusions coincide with those expressed by General Mansilla, of the Argentine Republic, in an interview which forms the subject of the remaining contribution on the crisis.

"AMERICA FOR ANGLO-SAXON AMERICANS."

The present attack on Spain, says the writer, is merely a move in a game which the Yankees have been playing for many years. In obtaining possession of Cuba, they are imitating the tactics of the British in seizing Egypt after the opening of the Suez Canal; when the Panama or Nicaragua Canal is finished—which will be sooner than most people think—the Yankees will be able, with Cuba in their possession, to dominate the traffic for their own benefit. The capture of this beautiful island is another step in the long-conceived plan of absorbing all Latin America, and at the same time the attack on Spain will give the Yankee Government the desired opportunity of winning public approval to its scheme for building a big navy. At first the United States will be friendly with Great Britain, but when the proposed powerful navy is ready it will be turned against Britain, who will have cause to regret her present action. The neutrality of Europe is a great mistake; it is Spain now, but it will be the turn of some other European country later on. The Yankees are greedy for conquest. As to the Latin republics of America, it

behooves them to be watchful; for the motto "America for the Americans" means America for the Anglo-Saxon Americans only!

Such is the view of the crisis as expressed in the current Spanish reviews.

THE CAPTURE OF HAVANA IN 1762.

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for July Lieutenant-Colonel Adye, chiefly from materials found in the life of Admiral Keppel, describes the adventures which befell the English expedition of a hundred and thirty-six years ago, and which showed the way in which the capital of Cuba might be captured by a combined attack from land and sea. The story is an interesting one, and one of the most interesting things is that the campaign which began on June 7 and ended on October 8 was waged in the midst of the rainy season, with the result that while the British force lost only 560 men from injuries inflicted in fight, 4,708 men died by sickness. It will be interesting to compare the comparative mortality from wounds and from disease when the American campaign is ended. War was declared on January 4, but it was not until March 5 that the expedition sailed from Portsmouth, and the attack upon Havana was not begun until June 6. The British fleet when it left Barbados consisted of 27 sail of the line, with 20 smaller ships, which convoyed a force of no less than 156 transports and storeships. They had 11,350 soldiers on board. Within twenty-four hours of the arrival at Havana arrangements were made for disembarking troops some miles to the eastward of Fort Morro, between the mouths of the rivers Bocca Nao and Coximar.

MORRO STORMED AND THE CITY BOMBARDED.

The Spanish fleet was bottled up in Havana harbor by the action of the Spaniards themselves, who sank three of their best ships within a boom at the mouth of the outer entrance in order to prevent the entry of the British fleet. Fort Morro became the object of the British attack. It was boldly defended by the Spaniards and doggedly besieged by the British, who had at one time no fewer than 4,000 soldiers and 3,000 sailors prostrate with sickness. It was not until July 30, after reinforcements had arrived from Jamaica and America, that Fort Morro was stormed. Even then the Spaniards refused to surrender Havana, the bombardment of which was begun on August 10. In four days the city was surrendered. The spoils of war consisted of nine Spanish men-of-war in the harbor, which, together with those sunk at its mouth, constituted one-fifth of the naval power of Spain, and no less a sum than \$15,000,000 in the Cuban treasury.

WANTED: A "GENERAL STAFF" AT WASHINGTON.

THE August *Cosmopolitan* prints a forcible criticism by its editor of our national organization for military preparation. Without enumerating the faults which Mr. Walker discerned in a stay in Washington at the outbreak of the war, we give his conclusion that "the breaking out of the war should have been the signal for calling together men who had demonstrated their powers in the way of clear thinking and in the mastery of organization. This fact, so well understood in business, should be recognized in the conduct of armies. When war comes we should have men who have studied organization, who can think clearly and act with decision. To put authority into the hands of a man who is only a popular fellow and well liked is to invite confusion and defeat." This has been accomplished by the Germans by organizing what is called the general staff, and Mr. Walker has procured from Maj. George M. Wheeler, of the corps of engineers of the United States army, an article on the "Necessity for a General Staff" in this country. Major Wheeler tells us that this organization in Germany had its beginning in the intelligence branch instituted by Frederick the Great, which elected its most capable officers to act in the field as the eyes and ears of the army and enjoined on them specific duties during the Seven Years' War. In 1821 this general staff was given an independent position directly under the commander-in-chief and head of the state, and it has grown greatly since in importance. This organization is described by Major Wheeler as follows:

"The main principles of the German general staff are (1) its independent position; (2) it forms a *corps d'élite* made up of officers, at once scientific and thoroughly practical, enjoying the respect and confidence of the troops, owing their distinction not to the advantages of birth, wealth, or influence, but solely to their own merit and efforts; (3) absolute freedom of its military scientific training; and (4) compulsory return of its officers from time to time to regimental duty, they thus being an unadulterated product of the Prussian army, of which they possess all the excellent qualities. Schellendorf claims that if the Prussian general staff had not enjoyed the advantage of being directly under the commander-in-chief (the head of the state) for more than seventy-five years, other causes, arising partly from progressive changes in the form of government and partly from modern military organization, as well as from innovations in military matters generally, would certainly have secured for it the position it now holds. The general

staff of the Prussian army as at present constituted consists of the '*Haupt-Etat*,' with a total of 146 officers, and the '*Neben-Etat*' (scientific branch) have 58 officers, together with 14 field officers as commissioners of lines of railroad, 6 as railroad commissioners, and 74 lieutenants attached."

The functions of this organization are vast in detail. The result of its workings is that the Germans can at present mobilize an army of 500,000 trained soldiers at any point of its frontier crossed by a railroad within seventy-two hours after the effective orders are given in Berlin. Major Wheeler says it is safe to say that thus far the world has never seen so large and well-trained an army ready for almost instantaneous mobilization within the confines of a single country. And this is accomplished with a total annual outlay of \$127,000,000 for the whole German war establishment—less than the pension roll for 1896 of our late Civil War, which was over \$140,000,000.

GENERAL MILES ON THE GERMAN ARMY.

IN the August *McClure's* General Miles, in the course of his series of articles on "Military Europe," gives his impressions of the German army from his inspection of the maneuvers at Homburg.

"The maneuvers began on September 6 and ended on the 10th. They were the most extensive ever held in Germany in time of peace. There were 117,000 men in all engaged. This force was about four times as great as that at Kresnoe-Selo and about 50,000 larger than that at the French maneuvers which in part I witnessed later. The labor of organizing, equipping, transporting, and supplying such an army must have been immense. All of this had been worked out by the general staff of Germany, and maps had been provided, which were models in themselves, by which, from day to day, the movements of the troops could be seen and followed with great ease.

"The great problem in the German maneuvers was to bring a great army into the field and operate against an invading army which had crossed the Rhine from the west. For the purpose the forces were divided into two armies. The western or invading army was represented by a portion of the troops under Gen. Count Von Haesler; while the eastern or army of defense was commanded by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the two being nearly equal in strength. The western army was composed of Prussians, while Prince Leopold's army was composed of Bavarians. We were provided with horses and orderlies, and

proceeded each day by train near to the field of action, where, following the Emperor, we witnessed the maneuvers. Many miles were covered by the troops, and it was necessary to ride long distances to see the action. The use of troops of all the branches was exemplified. The various modes of attack and defense in modern warfare were shown. Long and weary marches were made by the troops in accomplishing all of this. Much of the time it rained, and it was far from easy service. In fact, except for the danger of war, perhaps the troops suffered as much hardship as they would in actual campaign, and yet they seemed well supplied and there were few accidents. There were some losses; several men were drowned in crossing streams, in which the use of the pontoon bridge was shown. Some were taken sick, but comparatively few died, probably sixty in all, out of this immense army, which indeed was a remarkably small percentage under any circumstances.

"In watching the combats in the German maneuvers I was much interested in the effect of the smokeless powder. One heard the sound of the cannon and the rattle of musketry, but saw nothing until the troops advanced or retreated across the country within his line of vision. A valuable means of judging of the whereabouts of an enemy and of the progress of a battle is taken from a commanding officer by the use of smokeless powder.

"Extensive use was made of military balloons in the German maneuvers for observation purposes, and the opposing armies were provided each with one or more, constantly in use. The familiar pear-shaped balloon was used, and, in addition, the 'dragon' balloon. This is very different in form, and is constructed to avoid the constant whirling and spinning motion which is had with the ordinary shape. It is stated that there is considerable steadiness in the new form, and consequently it is naturally better suited for observation. Telephone lines connect these balloons with operators below, thus enabling the observers to communicate rapidly. The Russians also used the balloon in their maneuvers, and one of the features of their review in honor of President Faure was the launching of a balloon bearing in mammoth letters the words 'La France.' The familiar spherical balloon was used by them.

"I was very much impressed at the maneuvers with the excellent training of the German soldiers. Young men in Germany are compelled to enlist at twenty and serve two years in the active army, and then serve a portion of the following five years in the reserve. After one generation, the whole male population of Germany becomes a great military force. The severe

drill and discipline enforced in the German army makes thorough soldiers of the young men, and in some respects is a good school of practice, either for war or peace. It compels respect to superiors. It enforces regular habits, cleanliness, sobriety, and simplicity and regularity in daily labor and habits of life. It lifts up the awkward, listless, and careless boy to the position of manhood in the promotion of physical strength. Yet the rigid discipline appears to some extent distasteful, and I noticed very few veterans among the soldiers."

ARMY AND NAVY AID.

IN the *Charities Review* for July Mr. Richard Hayter makes some important suggestions to those who are interesting themselves in relief work for the soldiers and sailors at the front. He describes the various agencies through which such aid may be extended. His paper is also valuable for the cautions it contains against unnecessary and wasteful forms of assistance. On the subject of food for the soldiers he says:

"That a very considerable amount of indiscriminate and somewhat reckless expenditure of money has been made in sending delicacies and special food to the soldiers in camp is undoubtedly true. The necessity for it is not at all apparent. A rather unhealthy sentimental emotion has been brought about by sensational articles in the daily papers. There is, however, a genuine and real desire on the part of the people at home to do something tangible for the men at the front. This desire to do something and to be of some use, if directed in the right channels, can be of great importance to the well being of the soldier, but if misdirected may do considerable harm.

"Brigadier-General Charles P. Eagan, Commissary-General of Subsistence U. S. A., asserted emphatically in a recent interview that the well soldier needs absolutely nothing more than he gets in his regular ration; that this ration is the result of long years' experience, based on careful observation; and that the food is of the best quality and in every way carefully selected.

"Already the commanding officers of regiments have been obliged to destroy food sent to their men, on the ground that food outside of the regular rations would be detrimental and injurious. As a matter of fact, a proportion of the special food articles sent is unfit for use by the time it reaches the camps."

NO BANDAGES DESIRED.

Surgeon-General Sternberg has issued a circular stating definitely what articles are needed by his branch of the service. Commenting on this circular Mr. Hayter says:

"An item to be particularly emphasized is the statement that bandages, lint, and other surgical dressings are not desired. The reason is that the department obtains such articles from manufacturers, sterilized for use and otherwise exactly adapted for its purposes. The surgeon-general will be glad to forward wherever needed the articles named in the above circular. Special food, such as eggs, milk, chicken, fresh vegetables, etc., are always purchased for the sick when obtainable from a special hospital fund. Medicine, miscellaneous articles, special bedding, etc., are provided in the regular field-supply chest.

"In addition to this chest each private of the hospital corps carries a pouch supplied with emergency material, and the medical officers' orderly carries a larger pouch ready at all times. The surgeons in charge of hospitals can obtain any of the many articles named in the field-supply table by simple requisition on the surgeon-general's department. Under no circumstances is it necessary that private initiative should supply a hospital tent, as has been done recently, or any other part of the field equipment."

SUBMARINE MINES IN MODERN WARFARE.

THERE is in the August *National Magazine* an article explaining the machinery and use of "Submarine Mines in Modern Warfare." In the Civil War the Confederate engineers confined themselves to defending their forts mainly with the simplest kinds of contact mines, since there was very little insulated wire south of Mason and Dixon's line that could be used for the other class, the judgment or observation mines. The typical Confederate mine was simply a cylindrical case loaded with fifty to a hundred pounds of powder and fired by a gun-lock extended into a contact rod rising toward the surface. Further than the general classification of these weapons of destruction into judgment and contact mines, the contact mines themselves may be divided into the mechanical and electrical species. The Confederate mines belonged entirely to the former, and many that the Spanish are now using on the south coast of Cuba, too, are these balloon-shaped affairs, with a number of trigger-arms projecting from the top. Such an engine will blow up a friend with the same facility that it destroys a foe whenever it is in working order and is touched, and the writer of this article thinks that the presence of these in Santiago harbor persuaded Cervera to use the broad daylight in his fatal sally. The most useful and elaborate species of contact mines are those fired by a current sent to them from shore over an insulated cable, the explosion being determined by the shock or a

moving ship, when it closes the electrical circuit automatically. Unless the battery on shore is connected with the cable, the mine is practically harmless, even when charged with dynamite.

Most of the mines in Boston and New York harbors are of this character, and had they been of the mechanical order the casualties would have been many indeed, as it has been quite a common occurrence for irreverent tugs and coasting vessels to bump up against the arrangements of the United States corps of engineers every once in a while. The observation mine is nearly similar to this last class of contact mines, except that there is a total absence of any contact-making device working automatically. The largest size is about four feet long over all, cylindrical in shape, and made of sheet iron three-sixteenths of an inch thick. There is a hand-hole at each end for stowing the charge, which consists of five hundred pounds of guncotton, usually kept wet. At the lower end of the mine, in the center of this great mass of explosive, is the fuse-can, filled with dry guncotton, in which are bedded several heavy detonators. The electric wire from the shore passes through a water-tight seal in the bottom of the mine-case and thence to the detonators. The top and bottom of the case are fitted with heavy eye-bolts, for lowering and moving the mine, and the bottom ones for the tethering it to the thousand-pound mushroom-shaped anchor that keeps it in position. The manner of managing the explosions is described by this writer as follows:

"The individual mines are planted from eighty to one hundred and twenty feet apart—near enough to leave no dead space between them through which a ship could pass in safety, and yet far enough apart not to be injured by the shock of a neighbor's explosion. For the same reason mines are often grouped *en echelon*, so that the individuals may be further apart without uncovering too much space across the channel.

"Both observation and contact mines are fired by closely similar apparatus, the essential difference being that in the latter the firing circuit cannot be closed unless the mine is tilted or heavily struck. To explode guncotton or dynamite, the favorite materials for charging mines, requires most violent ignition. Either substance will merely burn with a bright flame when lighted by a match, but when fired by the explosion of a charge of fulminate of mercury, the substance used in percussion caps, they detonate—that is, burst instantly and violently into gas without burning in the ordinary sense at all. A pound of dynamite would probably take half a minute to burn up, while it would detonate in considerably less than the ten-thousandth part of a second.

"To fire a mine, then, a couple of powerful electric detonators are bedded in a mass of loose dry guncotton or dynamite and sealed tightly in a can that will keep tight even if the mine-case proper should leak."

A cross-section of one of these detonators consists of two parts, a thin copper tube, perhaps an inch or a little more in length and as big around as a large lead-pencil, and an insulating plug, which stops the open end of the tube and through which pass the connecting wires. These wires project, it seems, only a quarter of an inch or so through the plug and are there connected by a bridge of very fine platinum wire.

"The tube is filled with fulminate of mercury in which this bridge is bedded, and a small current will bring the bridge to a white heat and fire the fulminate—not far from thirty grains of it in ordinary service detonators. This instantly detonates the dry explosive in the fuse-can and the rest follows."

As to the military effectiveness of submarine mines, Professor Bell, the author of this article, considers that when properly supported by gunfire they are practically impregnable, and calls to mind the recent very well-defined hesitation of Rear Admiral Sampson to enter the harbor of Santiago, although it was more than suspected that the mines, torpedoes, and guns that defended it were not of the first class. "The actual effect," he says, "of the submarine mine is simply appalling. When a heavy charge is fired under water, the first sign of the terrible detonation is a shiver of the solid earth if the mine is near by, and then a little spurt of white water just over the charge. This swells into a massive cone, and that in turn into a tremendous column, rising up and still up, seeming to pause sometimes as the first jet loses its momentum, and then rising again as other portions of the seething mass tower upward. Then falling, it dissolves into foam and spray as it settles back into a huge upswelling of muddy water torn up from the bottom."

Of the destruction of the *Maine*, Professor Bell says there is no doubt but that the agency was a submarine mine.

"No drifting mine, no infernal machine that a few conspirators could have placed alongside under cover of darkness could have worked such complete destruction—it was no small torpedo placed close against her keel. If our present knowledge of explosives teaches us anything it tells us in unmistakable terms that the *Maine* was destroyed by the heaviest sort of a service mine, a mine so large that it could not have been planted as an after thought."

THE "REGULARS" IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THE magnificent work of the detachments from our regular army before Santiago has again drawn public attention to the recorded achievements of America's trained soldiery.

The histories of our Civil War are full of the exploits of the volunteers and have little to say of the regular troops. Perhaps it was this fact that caused Mr. Rufus F. Zogbaum to prepare the admirable sketch of "The Regulars in the Civil War" that appears in the *North American Review* for July.

In 1861 our little army had experience and training, at least, and it was soon to show that in courage and devotion to duty no body of troops in the world could surpass it.

"Less than 14,000 strong, then, as now, inadequate in point of numbers for the duties imposed upon it, the outbreak of hostilities between the States found the regular army scattered in small detachments over a vast territory, the cavalry and infantry almost constantly in conflict with the savage foe of advancing civilization, the artillery covering with a thin and broken line the long extent of seacoast on two oceans. Imbued with an *esprit de corps* born of the wars of three-fourths of a century, bound together by common share in the dangers and vicissitudes of the life they led, the soldiers of the 'old army' formed a distinct class by themselves, representing, in its composition, traditions and history, the incarnation of the spirit of respect for law and order that forms the foundation of the republic. Proud and self-reliant, they knew no other life but that which duty called on them to live, and to them the flag they bore was the emblem of the honor of the country, the army, and the regiment."

"SYKES' REGULARS."

The second division of the Fifth Corps, commanded by Brig.-Gen. George Sykes, became known as "Sykes' Regulars" because it included the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Tenth regiments and one battalion each of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Fourteenth, and Seventeenth regiments of United States infantry, together with batteries of the First and Fifth artillery.

In the fight at Gaines' Mill, Sykes' division, consisting of nine regiments (finally increased to eleven, three battalions, and two batteries), withstood twenty-six regiments, four battalions, and three batteries of Confederates under Jackson, Longstreet, D. H. and A. P. Hill, and Ewell, and it was Jackson who reported that "the well-disciplined Federals continued in retreat to fight with stubborn resistance."

"Proudly defiant, slowly contesting the field of battle foot by foot, more dangerous in defeat than in the full tide of success, and never for a moment losing their cohesion or yielding to coward panic, Sykes' sturdy infantry hung like bulldogs on the flanks of their batteries, and aided in the repulse of repeated and desperate attacks upon them of a brave enemy, flushed with triumph and eager to bear away the guns as trophies of their victory. The famous Second, retiring, as ordered, in line of battle, colors flying, halted and turned on the enemy, driving him back and saving a disabled battery. The loss of this regiment was 148 out of an effective force of 446! As night fell the ceaseless roll of musketry over on Sykes' right told how the Fourth Infantry was covering the retirement of Weed with his guns. The Confederates poured out from the woods on all sides, but the disciplined regulars, seizing and valiantly holding every point of vantage, facing by wings at right angles to their line, and by sheer pluck and endurance hurling back the pursuers on their flanks, kept the hostile battalions at bay until their comrades were well on the way to safety, then slowly fell back in the approaching gloom of night to the banks of the Chickahominy. Like watch-dogs, all night they lay between their comrades and the foe, until at daylight they sullenly and reluctantly crossed the river, destroying the bridge on their way, the last of the Federal forces to pass over the Chickahominy."

The losses sustained by the Twelfth and Fourteenth Infantry in this engagement were even greater. The fighting qualities of the regulars were also shown on the battlefields of Malvern Hill, Manassas, Sharpsburg, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg.

AT GETTYSBURG.

The command of the regular division at Gettysburg fell to Gen. R. B. Ayres. Mr. Zogbaum, in the following paragraph, tells the story of the heroic conduct of the remnant of the "old army" on that bloody field:

"Held in reserve with the rest of the Fifth Corps, the two small brigades of now only fifty-seven companies, amounting in the aggregate to less than 2,000 men, did not go into action until the disaster to the Third Corps, when their thinned and depleted ranks flung themselves desperately upon the triumphant Confederates, once again interposing themselves between their retreating comrades of the volunteers and the pursuing enemy. Striking the Confederates in flank, Ayres rolled them back upon themselves and drove them in confusion from his front. But

his enemies were too strong for him; outflanking him and gathering in his rear, they poured volley after volley into his battalions, mowing the men down like blades of grass before the scythe. And now occurred an exhibition of indomitable pluck and determined and sagacious courage such as only highly trained and disciplined troops could show. Facing about, the little division forced its way slowly back again. The roar of musketry was so incessant that the words of command could scarcely be heard. Men were falling by hundreds, but the veteran lines steadily filled the gaps, answering blow with blow as they pressed on firmly, enveloped in a perfect hell of fire and death. The color staff of the Second is shot in two, the flag falling into the hands of the bearer. In the Seventh every second man is killed or wounded. The Tenth suffers a loss of 60 per cent. of its officers and over 54 per cent. of the enlisted men in a few moments. But there was no panic, no confusion, 'not a single man left the ranks, and they allowed themselves to be more than decimated without flinching,' until the hill was reached again, and they reformed their shattered lines in their old position, leaving behind them, in a long and ghastly trail of dead and wounded, 829 of the 1,980 that had so gallantly advanced to the attack only a short time before. Was there ever a more heroic military sacrifice?"

A PLEA FOR THE REAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

IN the August *Atlantic Monthly* is printed an essay written by Sidney Lanier about 1880, making a powerful and logical plea for the great Anglo-Saxon epics as the basis of English culture, as against imported literature, not excluding it nor neglecting it, but preceding it. "We do not bring with us," wrote Lanier, "out of our childhood the fiber of idiomatic English which our fathers bequeathed to us. The boy's English is diluted before it has become strong enough for him to make up his mind clearly as to the true taste of it. Our literature needs Anglo-Saxon iron; there is no ruddiness in its cheeks and everywhere a clear lack of the red corpuses. Current English prose, on both sides of the water, reveals an ideal of prose-writing most like the leaden sky of a November day, that overspreads the earth with dreariness—no rift in its tissue nor fleck in its tint. Upon any soul with the least feeling for color the model 'editorial' of the day leaves a profound dejection. The sentences are all of a height, like regulars on parade, and the words are immaculately prim, snug, and clean-shaven. Out of all this regularity comes a kind of prudery in our literature."

"One will go into few moderately appointed houses in this country without finding a Homer in some form or other; but it is probably far within the truth to say that there are not fifty copies of Beowulf in the United States. Or, again, every boy, though far less learned than that erudite young person of Macaulay's, can give some account of the death of Hector; but how many boys—or, not to mince matters, how many men—in America could do more than stare if asked to relate the death of Byrhtnoth? Yet Byrhtnoth was a hero of our own England in the tenth century, whose manful fall is recorded in English words that ring on the soul like arrows on armor. Why do we not draw in this poem—and its like—with our mother's milk? Why have we no nursery songs of Beowulf and the Grendel? Why does not the serious education of every English-speaking boy commence, as a matter of course, with the Anglo-Saxon grammar? These are more serious questions than any one will be prepared to believe who has not followed them out to their logical results."

The essay goes on to prove by comparison the degenerate quality of our language, and how it weakened from the fifteenth century on, and translates some of the most robustious passages from "The Death of Byrhtnoth," an Anglo-Saxon poem dating from about A.D. 993, which, Lanier said, "in the judgment of my ear sets the grace of loyalty and the grimness of battle to noble music. I think no man could hear this poem read aloud without feeling his heart beat faster and his blood stir."

IS THERE A FRENCH SPIRIT IN LITERATURE?

A SPECIAL feature of the *Revue des Revues* for July is a symposium, "Enquête sur l'Esprit Français." The editor, M. Finot, in March last raised the question by issuing a letter to the leading literary men, editors, and scholars of France, asking them the following questions: Can the French pretend to have a distinctive spirit in their literature—in other words, a French spirit as distinct from the literary spirit of other peoples? His second question was: If so, What are the appreciable features of this spirit? And his third: Can a stranger assimilate the peculiarities of the French spirit in such a degree as to become a writer purely French? In the July number some sixty pages are devoted to the answers received from some of the most eminent of French writers. A list of these writers will best give an idea of the various nature of the answers which were elicited. They are: Henry Bérenger, Alfred Binet, Henri de Bornier, Paul Bourget, Michael Bréal, Jules

Claretie, François Coppée, Arthur Desjardins, George Fonsegrive, Anatole France, Urbain Gohier, Remy de Gourmont, Léon Henrique, Alexandre Hepp, Gustave Larroumet, Camille Mauclair, Eugène Müntz, Raymond Poincaré, Marcel Prévost, Edouard Rod, Georges Rodenbach, Francisque Sarcey, Paul Stapfer, Sully-Prudhomme, E. M. de Vogué, René Worms, and last, but by no means least, Émile Zola.

We cannot afford the space to give even a brief résumé of the opinions of these writers. It remains only to quote from the most interesting answers of those best known to our readers. The general trend of the letters is only vaguely affirmative; and although M. Finot concludes by an ingenious attempt to combine in a harmonious system the various elements which have gone to the making of the French language and literature, it cannot be said that he has succeeded in forming conclusions generally acceptable. An ethical philosophy of literature in the true sense of the term is probably beyond the power of man to produce. A great critic may apprehend instinctively the literary genius of a race, but to demand a formula to express it is to demand a definition of the indefinable. Most of M. Finot's correspondents seem to have appreciated this, for most evade the categorical reply to his questions and answer him in generalities more or less obscure.

M. Zola, whose reply is one of the shortest and, by reputation, perhaps the weightiest, begins by quoting the words of Taine, that the nature of the French spirit is "d'aimer les belles batailles et les beaux discours: en somme, guerrier et rhéteur." But M. Zola cannot see how the truly national writers, the Rabelais, the Montaignes, the Mollières, the La Fontaines, and the Voltaires, are *guerriers et rhéteurs*. The virtue of these great writers, says M. Zola, lies in their reason, clarity, healthiness, and wisdom, and in the ardent cult of truth and justice which they teach. We are Latins, he continues, and the Gallic blood has given us no more than a better balance and a more healthy vigor.

M. Marcel Prévost follows more closely the letter of his editor. To the first question he replies affirmatively. Every individual race, and therefore France, has its distinctive literary spirit. In France this spirit is primarily *clair, synthétique, amoureux et respectueux des règles*. Read a treatise on geometry in French and English, says M. Prévost, and you will find the differences between the conceptions of clarity among different races. The French reader will find the English demonstration insufficient. The English student will regard the French demonstration as superfluous. This impassioned love

of "geometrical clarity" is to be found everywhere in French literature; it manifests itself in psychological explanations, in rigorous logic, and in limpidity of expression. This with love of ideas and method is the classical spirit—the spirit of French literature. Thus M. Prévost justifies M. Zola's postulate that the French are first of all a Latin race. To the third question he also replies affirmatively, favorable conditions being given, and quotes the cases of Rousseau, Dumas *filz*, and, in later times, José Maria de Heredia and Cherbuliez to affirm his view.

M. Poincaré also thinks that the French spirit may be acquired by aliens, but he maintains that, without doubt, the spirit of a nation changes with time and obeys the laws of its historical evolution. The French democracy does not think and speak as it thought and spoke in the days of aristocratic domination. M. Poincaré sees in the efforts of foreigners to ridicule and depreciate the French spirit the best evidence of its substantial existence.

M. François Coppée is as brief as M. Zola. He refuses to discuss the question at length, but declares that the spirit of literary France is manifested in "its luminous genius, its crystal language, its generous and brave character, and its quick and clear intelligence." *Hélas*, laments M. Coppée, *nous nous germanisons beaucoup depuis pas mal d'années*

M. Sarcey also sees in clarity the first characteristic of his country's literature. The works of Darwin and Lombroso could never have been French. With such materials a French writer would have written a work luminous and well ordered. Mr. Sarcey laughs at the prediction that French literature is losing its primordial qualities. The tendencies which change the character of national literature are temporary and must pass away. He likens them to the ravages of the phylloxera, which threatens to destroy everything, but where the soil and vines are good all at last must return to its original health.

M. Anatole France is brief and categorical. To the first question he answers yes—the French can pretend to a distinctive literary spirit. To the second he replies that this is the spirit of order, proportion, and clarity. In reply to the third he admits that a stranger may acquire the French spirit. But he can never hope to become *purement Français*. French literature, he says, owes much to the assimilation of external influences; and he proceeds to classify his most illustrious compatriots in ethical order. Ronsard, Rabelais, Racine, and André Chénier take much from classical sources; Montesquieu and Voltaire from England; Madame de Staël and the roman-

ticists from Germany; Corneille, Victor Hugo, and Mérimée from Spain.

At the conclusion of the symposium M. Finot proceeds to tabulate the elements which have gone to the making of French literature. Absence of race—for the French race is an abstraction—and assimilation from outside are two of the greatest, and both together create a special mission for France and the French spirit. A composite language is a third element. "The French spirit," says M. Finot, "conforms to the philosophy of its history; and it is synonymous with comprehension and generosity, and it is in this we are to seek the source of its greatness and the reason for the love and admiration which it inspires among the best critics of the foreign world."

OUR INADEQUATE CONSULAR SERVICE.

SENATOR STEPHEN M. WHITE, of California, renews discussion of the more obvious defects in the United States consular service in the *Forum* for July.

Senator White bases his demand for reform on the recent marked development of foreign intercourse accompanying the increase of American commerce abroad.

"It is unnecessary to dwell upon the enormous expansion of the commerce of the United States. The statistics of recent years especially are plain and convincing. Our steel manufacturers not long ago demanded high protective tariffs to save them from English and continental invasion and to enable them to hold the home market. Now a member of Parliament asks to be informed why it is that the British Government has purchased steel rails for an East India railroad from a Baltimore concern, and is told that the American article is cheaper and as good. So it is in many other lines. It is not only probable, but certain, that our trade will continue to prosper, and that our surplus will meet the shrewd and wide-awake foreigner in the remorseless struggle of untrammeled competition. While, therefore, the consul of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago, owing to the absence of trying demands upon him, might have spent his term without exciting criticism, his attitude now is entirely different. His obligations have not only increased, but have become much more complicated.

DEMANDS ON THE SERVICE.

"Whatever may be the effect of recent international entanglements—whether or not we shall proceed, as some ambitious and, I beg to submit, over-zealous folks desire us to do, to raise the Stars and Stripes in distant climes and over alien

and non-assimilative races—it is clear that in any event we shall have more interest in foreign disputes than ever before. Our navy must be increased. Our position as a sea power is destined to favorable change. With our cruisers and battleships moving in stirring scenes and our manufacturers, merchants, traders, and tourists soliciting assistance, a new state of things is presented. Consular officers, summoned to advise and act in the face of such issues, ought to be familiar with international affairs and with the rules of conduct governing civilized nations. An officer controlling such a situation should be a man of uncommon intelligence, with little about him indicating the novice. He should be able to shield the American citizen, whether traveling for pleasure or pausing for business, from undue interference. To him his countrymen must appeal for information and counsel. Is it, therefore, unreasonable to demand that one chosen for such employment should be conversant with the important subjects to which I have just adverted, and should be so trained as to meet the delicate possibilities of this avocation?"

Senator White shows the practical disadvantage of employing untrained men for short terms in a service which should command specially qualified men for the best years of their lives. He says :

EVILS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

"We sometimes hear it said that a newly appointed consul is bright and can qualify himself. But how costly may be the errors incident to such qualification. How dearly may we pay for an education which should have preceded incumbency. I do not, however, deem the time spent in obtaining the requisite information as constituting the most serious cause for reflection. The removal from office of a good consul who has become an expert in his business and who is useful to his country is always unfortunate and sometimes disastrous. The naming of men unfamiliar with the language of the locality in which they are to act is inexcusable. Great Britain—always quick to discover fields for the opening of lucrative trade—not only insists upon ample general education and legal attainments, including international law, but requires a knowledge of French and, in many instances, other languages. France, too, is most insistent in this regard, subjecting the candidate to a strict examination and keeping in view his adaptability to the place to which he seeks to be assigned. Many of our consuls in Mexico and Central and South America cannot speak Spanish; and where this is the case their efforts are seriously hampered. Such a man finds his English, German, and French

rivals fully equipped and daily outstripping him in the advancement of home interests. An interpreter may be used, but this method of communication is at best unsatisfactory. A consul thus embarrassed not only encounters obstacles of a social character, but is annoyed on all sides. He feels out of place. The losses which we annually sustain on this account cannot be readily measured, but must be very large."

"MANILA HEMP."

IN the *National Geographic Magazine* for June Mr. F. F. Hilder has an encyclopedic article on the Philippines. The section devoted to agriculture contains the following description of the famous "Manila hemp":

"There is a great similarity between the agricultural products of Cuba and the Philippines—in both sugar and tobacco are the great staples—but the latter islands possess an unique product which hitherto it has not been found possible to raise successfully elsewhere, although attempts have been made to introduce it in Borneo, Cochin-China, the Andaman Islands, and other places. It is known commercially as Manila hemp, but this is a misnomer, as it has no relation to the hemp plant. Its native name is *abacá*, and it is the product of a species of plantain or banana, *Musa textilis*, which differs very slightly in appearance from the edible variety, *Musa paradisiaca*. Its fruit, however, is small, disagreeable to the taste, and not edible. It grows to the height of twelve to fifteen feet. There is evidently some peculiarity of soil or climate, or of both, which enables these islands to retain a monopoly of this fiber which has become of such immense commercial value. It grows best in hilly or mountainous districts, and particularly in the volcanic regions in the eastern parts of the islands. It is hardy and suffers little from any enemy except drought. It has the advantage of being a perennial crop, like its fruit-bearing relative, month after month young shoots springing up from the original root.

RUDE METHODS OF PRODUCTION.

"In starting a plantation the timber and undergrowth are cut down and allowed to lie until dried by the sun, when they are burned and the young sprouts or suckers are planted. Nothing more is ever done in the way of cultivation except to cut down weeds and extraneous growths to allow access to the plants and to replace those that may die from accident or old age. They reach maturity in about three years, and should then be cut, as at that age they yield the best fiber. If they are cut earlier the fiber is short and lacking in strength, and if allowed

to grow too old before cutting it becomes harsh, woody, and brittle. A large quantity of land is required to form a successful plantation, as the plants occupy considerable room, and it requires the product of five or six acres to produce a ton of fiber at each cutting.

"The method of decortication is as rude as the agricultural process. It is true that many machines constructed on scientific principles have been experimented with, but none so far has proved satisfactory, and the crude native implement is still the only one in use ; it consists of a rough wooden bench with a long knife-blade hinged to it at one end and connected at the other to a treadle. Strips of the plant are drawn several times between this blade and the bench, which removes the pulp and outer skin, leaving the fiber, which is then cleansed by washing, dried in the sun, and packed for shipment.

"It is one of the most useful fibers known to commerce. Besides its value for making rope and cordage, it is extensively used in the United States for binding-twine for harvesting machines. Nearly one million bales are exported annually, of which 40 per cent. comes to the United States."

ARE OUR WOODEN SUBURBS DANGEROUS?

MR. R. CLIPSTON STURGIS, writing in the August *New England Magazine*, calls attention to the comparative flimsiness of the buildings that are being erected so rapidly on the outskirts of our great cities, and boldly gives it as his opinion that these buildings, with their similarly flimsy wooden surroundings, are not only dangerous for their inhabitants, "but a horrible menace to the adjacent city." Mr. Sturgis' criticisms apply more urgently to Boston than to New York, but not more so than to Chicago, Cincinnati, and many other cities of importance. He complains especially that the old wooden houses of the outlying districts, which were sometimes very simple and very charming, were pulled down and replaced, not by brick or stone, as one might expect, but by cheap, mean, and sordid wood, and there are few people with any power of discernment who have not lamented with him this capability of the fresh new suburbanite to produce a horrible anticlimax architecturally. There spring up first little detached villas, then double houses, then tenements, then whole rows of wooden buildings, including stores and offices. The city has now reached out to the village and the village has grown into the suburban town, almost like the city in density of population, having more people sleeping in it than the business portion of the town, and yet

with every inducement to fire, everything to feed it when started and to work destruction to the village and danger to its city neighbors.

This evident and important danger leads Mr. Sturgis into a comparison of the cost and usefulness of brick, stone, and wooden dwellings. One hundred superficial feet of twelve-inch brick wall is worth about thirty-five dollars ; a hundred feet of stud outside wall is worth about fifteen dollars. There is a difference of twenty dollars, and one can easily calculate from that the average in cost of a wooden and a brick suburban house and see why it is that the flimsy ones go up. But there are some other factors to be considered in the matter, for when the brick house is built the owner has a substantial and permanent home, instead of a perishable one, one which constantly improves with age and needs but little labor, instead of one which must be constantly kept up with paint to make it look presentable and preserve it from decay. Then there is a saving in insurance, as all companies make a higher rate for the wooden structure than the brick. There is another point to be considered, too—that if people could be educated to the point of using brick material there would be so much more demand for a cheaper brick that the manufacturers would be enabled to increase their output and would be induced to accept a smaller margin of profit on larger sales or improve their method of production. This has been the case in Holland, where common brick, better than ours and larger, cost about five dollars a thousand, as against seven and nine dollars here.

SPORT'S PLACE IN THE NATION'S WELL-BEING.

IN *Outing* for July Mr. Price Collier estimates that the people of Great Britain have invested permanently more than \$233,000,000 in the promotion of various forms of out-of-door sports, while they annually spend nearly \$224,000,000 in these pursuits. The moral that Mr. Collier draws from these statistics is this :

"The nation which governs almost one-fourth of the earth's population, and upon the whole governs well, spends over \$200,000,000 annually upon sport and has invested in the same way an even greater sum. Perhaps there is no higher test of a man's all-round abilities than his power to govern wisely ; at any rate, it is a truth to be borne in mind, in this connection, that the governing races to-day are races of sportsmen. The peoples who play games are inheriting the earth, perhaps because it makes them meek. As a matter of fact, we think it does just that, among other things. The French do not play games, and Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown how the

population of France is steadily decreasing, the deaths having outnumbered the births there for several years past. The Spaniards do not play games, and travelers in and students of Spain and the Spanish agree that their two most salient characteristics are overweening personal pride and cruelty. The Chinese despise unnecessary physical exercise and can scarcely be driven to fight, even for their country, and their lack of decision and their pulpy condition of dependence are now all too manifest."

THE BANE OF PROFESSIONALISM.

Mr. Collier believes that the schooling of football, golf, and hunting offers the best preparatory tests of the virtues of patience, self-control, and courage, but he draws a sharp distinction between the game played for training or for diversion and the game played for a salary and as a business :

"That is no longer sport, but business, and there is nothing more degrading than to give all one's attention, and one's most serious attention, to the lighter side of life. Society is good, sport is good, novel-reading is good, as a diversion or as an avocation ; but any one of them taken up as a business, as a vocation, as the sole aim in life, makes but a sad return to its devotee. Sport as a profession, we quite agree, breeds more bullies, more tricksters, more boasters, than anything else that we can name. Sport, too, even in the hands of amateur sportsmen, may produce these same vulgar qualities. As soon as any man forgets that sport has two excuses, and two only, for being—namely, training and diversion—and uses it to make money or to make a name, uses it for anything, in short, except to train his muscles, his temper, his sense of fair play, except to make him more generous to opponents or to divert his thoughts from weightier matters and engrossing cares, to make him more fit, in short, for more serious duties and higher tasks, then he becomes a professional ; and just in so far as he becomes a professional he acquires the vices that almost invariably characterize the jockey and the prize-fighter."

WHAT TRUE SPORT DOES FOR A PEOPLE.

Considered merely as a diversion, Mr. Collier regards England's sport as cheap at the price she pays for it :

"Mr. Balfour's golf, Lord Salisbury's chemical laboratory, Lord Rosebery's racing-stable, Mr. Chamberlain's orchids, are diversions, pastimes, which have been worth a good many millions to Great Britain, while her cricket and polo-playing, her hunting and shooting men, have won territory

and governed it afterward for her, the value of which can hardly be computed in dollars and cents."

"The rules of amateur sport, written and understood, are really, though in different phraseology, the rules for the making of the highest type of manhood. Certainly it is not book-learning, ability to pass examinations, or any racial brilliancy of intellect which have made the British successful colonizers, while the French have failed signally. The ability to give and take, the personal independence of a man often obliged to take care of himself away from the artificial resources of civilization, a certain gentleness which belongs to the strong and confidence which grows rapidly with success—these qualities make the colonizer and the effective ruler, and these qualities are bred in great masses of men only by the drilling of the army, or the large boys' schools, or well-conducted sport. The Frenchman, the Italian, or even the Spaniard is a far quicker man mentally than the Englishman, but they are all far inferior to the American or the Englishman in the fundamental virtues that make a first-rate man. Steadiness, truthfulness, loyalty, resourcefulness, endurance, and gentleness—these win as over against any other qualities. And they win logically, because even weaker races see that such virtues are the more lasting. As a result, in India the natives will lend their hoarded wealth to their English rulers, while they hide it from their native rulers ; and the Anglo-Saxon's word has come to be more valuable in the markets of the world than other men's bonds, and all because there is a man behind it."

THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION LAW.

IN the *International Journal of Ethics* Mr. F. J. Stimson reviews the provisions of the law recently enacted by Congress setting in operation a system of arbitration in disputes between railroad companies and their employees.

Mr. Stimson's criticism of this law, which he regards as perhaps the most important legislation on the labor question yet had in the United States, is chiefly concerned with the point that by its provisions the labor unions, though unincorporated, are recognized and intrusted with the control of the case in arbitration on the part of the laborers. This, in Mr. Stimson's opinion, puts great power in the hands of the unions and practically compels non-union employees, unless absolutely in a majority, to join the union. On this point Mr. Stimson says :

"There is a good deal in this objection. In fact, if the act itself were entitled 'a bill for the

encouragement of labor organizations and to force all railroad employees to become members thereof, it would not be a misnomer. Moreover, these labor organizations are not necessarily chartered even by a State incorporation, still less by an incorporation under the United States trade-union statute. The law might perhaps have made it necessary, in order to take a hand in such an arbitration, for the labor organization to take out a charter under the Federal law; but it has not done so. The only protection the individual workman has under this bill is that if he is actually in the majority, he may take the arbitration out of the hands of the labor organization and conduct it directly by representatives of a majority of the employees; but we all know how difficult is individual action in such cases against any organization, however small and however unpopular.

SHOULD LABOR UNIONS BE "RECOGNIZED"?

"It has been a principal desire of students of the labor problem to get trades unions to organize themselves in a responsible way so that they may make abiding settlements of labor disputes; but, in this country at least, they have hitherto preferred the freedom from responsibility and liability for their own contracts that an unchartered organization gives them. Then, again, why should Congress recognize a body having no legal existence which has refused to come under its own laws? We cannot but think that the act is fairly open to criticism on this point. Certainly the effect of it would be to force all railroad men to come into a labor association, however unsatisfactory its methods and motives, and that without taking out a charter in the proper and legal way. Our laws have probably been unwise on the whole in recognizing by their machinery political parties, and the recognition of any body of persons styling themselves a labor organization may be attended with more unfair consequences still. Then, again, if this 'tribunal created independent of the consent and will of the parties' is really a court, individuals should have their rights in it; and if not a court, what is it and by what right does it issue substantially court process?"

In conclusion, Mr. Stimson shows that this

statute, like others of its kind, will require the active sympathy and agreement of both sides to accomplish its ends. "The very word 'arbitration' imports a mutual consent to the submission, and that consent should go not only to the initial submission to arbitration, but must accompany the proceeding through all its phases with willingness to give full testimony and information to the arbitrators in making the award, and with an honest and permanent intention to abide by the same when rendered. If taken in a litigant spirit, the whole matter becomes an ordinary legal controversy, and might well be conducted by an ordinary court, which method would indeed have removed many of the constitutional objections. The future of the law, therefore, depends entirely on the spirit in which it is taken. The previous statute, which this supersedes, the act of October 1, 1888, does not seem to have been a success in the working—at least we can find no evidence that such has been the case. It is true that this act merely provided for the filing of the award with the Commissioner of Labor, and made no effort to affect the powers of equity courts even indirectly, nor to control the action of the parties to the arbitration either pending the award or after it.

ARBITRATION MUST BE VOLUNTARY.

"The last word of the whole subject must be that arbitrations are in their nature voluntary, and derive their full powers from the consent of the parties submitting, and that the only constitutional machinery for enforcing a judgment or decree must still be that of a court, into which either or both parties may be dragged against their will. Whenever a trade dispute does not embody a legal injury, there is nothing cognizable by a court, and the only remedy must come from the reason of the parties themselves after a full discussion reenforced by the public sentiment which a public discussion necessarily creates. It is to the fairness of the parties to railroad disputes and the interest of the public in the fair treatment of a large class of its members that we must look for a successful operation of this law. The statute will succeed with its friends and fail among its enemies."



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

THE *Century* for August contains a timely discussion by Surgeon-General George M. Sternberg of "The Sanitary Regeneration of Havana." Surgeon-General Sternberg says that there is but little in the idea that the prevalence of yellow fever in Havana depends upon the foulness of the water of its land-locked harbor, and that a canal from the bottom of the *cul-de-sac* to the sea would remedy the evil. What the city really needs is a complete and satisfactory system of sewers, pavements for the unpaved streets, and reconstruction of the unsanitary dwellings, in accordance with modern sanitary regulations. General Sternberg calls to mind that less than a hundred years ago New York and Philadelphia suffered periodically from yellow-fever visitations, three thousand six hundred and forty people being destroyed in Philadelphia in 1798. He says that with modern sanitary conditions prevailing in its dwellings, sewers, and pavements, Havana would enjoy an immunity as great as Philadelphia and New York do now. Havana already has a better water-supply than Philadelphia, and its typhoid-fever rate is extremely low.

The *Century* has some stirring personal accounts of "The Battle of Manila Bay," being narratives of Col. George A. Loud, who witnessed the battle from the revenue cutter *McCulloch* and kept a diary in the midst of the battle, of Dr. P. Kindleberger, junior surgeon of the flagship *Olympia*, who witnessed the battle from the sick-bay in Admiral Dewey's vessel, and of Gunner J. C. Evans, of the *Boston*, who tells of the scenes below during the battle and the exploits of his crew in handing up shot and shell. There are no new points of importance brought out in these descriptions of the battle, but it gives a new thrill to hear the fight retold by men who took part in it.

Further chapters in the series on "Confederate Commerce Destroyers" contain "The Confederacy's Only Foreign War," by James Morris Morgan, formerly midshipman on the Confederate cruiser *Georgia*, and "The Last of the Confederate Cruisers," by John T. Mason, formerly midshipman of the *Shenandoah*. In "Cuba as Seen from the Inside," Osgood Welsh, an American sugar-grower, bears abundant testimony to the fertility of the island. With little more than an apology for cultivation, he says, the earth yields abundantly for the needs of man. Cattle and horses thrive, and it is a poor peasant indeed who has not one or more of the strong and easily kept ponies of the island.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Frank A. Vanderlip gives some "Facts About the Philippines," and Wallace Cumming writes on "Life in Manila," while Frederick A. Ober, late commissioner in Porto Rico of the Columbian Exposition, gives some interesting and timely information in his article on "The Island of Porto Rico." It is an excellent number of the *Century*.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE elaborately illustrated topical articles of the August *Harper's* are "The Convict System in Siberia," by Stephen Bonsal, and "If the Queen Had Abdicated," an unsigned article. The reasons given

by the anonymous author are interesting and somewhat unexpected to an American layman. For instance, this writer, who is evidently well informed, says that when the time comes for the Prince of Wales to succeed the Queen, the ministry in office at the time will be obliged to take up the question of lifting the burden of obligations met and discharged by the Prince of Wales "in the course of his difficult, prolonged, and patriotic services to his country. To raise this thorny Parliamentary question during the lifetime of the Queen is practically out of the question, and no cabinet would be likely to anticipate for itself the complex difficulties inseparable from a resettlement of the civil list and the question of crown lands." Another obstacle in the way of abdication is the fact that the Queen is Empress of India, reigning sovereign over more Moslems than the Grand Turk and of more Africans and Asiatics than any other civilized monarch. "Abdication would be misunderstood by most, misrepresented by some, and resented by all of them." This writer says that the Prince himself may be fairly described as possessing "a powerful intellect, developed by contact for a generation with the best authorities on all subjects, not only above the average of professional men, but even ludicrously above the standard of mental ability with which his royal highness is sometimes credited."

In this number George W. Smalley begins a series of articles on Mr. Gladstone, being, as he promises, composed of "reminiscences, anecdotes, and an estimate." One of the anecdotes which begins Mr. Smalley's matter is an opinion he heard Mr. Gladstone deliver of Renan. "His 'Vie de Jésus' is a dull book," said Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Smalley remarks that Mr. Gladstone, when he added that he could not read the book, was probably afraid to finish it, and says that the Grand Old Man added: "I don't mean to say that Renan is always dull or that he has not great merits. His works on the Semitic philology have a high value."

In Mr. Bonsal's account of "The Convict System of Siberia" he describes himself as having left his investigations with a strong, sanguine belief that there will be radical ameliorations of the terrible conditions under which the criminals are confined, and that every organ of high public opinion, every commercial body, and every official of rank in Russia is taking active part in bringing about such a change.

Mr. Stephen Crane, in fixing the scene of his story, "The Monster," in a little Western New York town, and the subject in a village tragedy, loses none of his originality and artistic truth. The story is a remarkable one and a most readable one. It seems to hint that the very turbulent entry of this young man into the ranks of famous fictionists will not be so short-lived after all.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Scribner's* offers to the enthusiasm for war news certain sketches by Richard Harding Davis of what that clever reporter calls "The Rocking-Chair Period of the War," and an excellently done article by John R. Spears on "The Chase of Cervera," which brings that dramatic incident, however, only to

the point where the *Merrimac* was sunk by Hobson. Mr. Spears says: "Hobson is a handsome, modest fellow, one whom his acquaintances were proud to know before his name was on the lips of the world." The hope of the nation lies in the fact that every class graduating at Annapolis has a plenty of Hobsons and Powells, who need only the chance that these men made and had to prove their worth.

The aesthetic feature of this number of *Scribner's* is Mr. E. S. Martin's poem, "The Sea Is His," which is illustrated with a half dozen full-page drawings reproduced by the lithographic process by Mr. Henry McCarter. Mr. Martin's poem has many lines so felicitous as to distinguish it easily from the conventional specimens of what is known as "magazine poetry," and a sturdiness which confirms the suspicion that this active magazinist is bound for more enduring work than the cleverly turned news notes and lightly philosophic essays with which his name has generally been associated.

The editor of the department called "The Field of Art" prints a most interesting letter from John La Farge, written in answer to the appeal of a member of a certain board of education in a Western State as to how the greatest pictures shall be known. Mr. La Farge patiently and wisely explains how impossible it is to make an empirical judgment in the specific questions his correspondent broaches as to the merits of twelve famous paintings, and goes on to an interesting series of comments on the task of learning to know great art. "Even the guide-book," he says, "remarks that the 'Last Supper' of Leonardo 'is never successfully copied,' notwithstanding that large portions of the surface are not his and that which is his is indistinct. It must be, then, that what we see in such a work is the ideal of the picture—that is, truly, something that we largely make ourselves and which this particular artist has the power to evoke. It is somewhat made up of what we know, perhaps, outside of the thing we are looking at, and is, to a great extent, increased or strengthened by belief—by the putting aside of the smaller critical faculties."

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

"MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE" for August begins with a story of boys by Rudyard Kipling—as full of delicious boy barbarity as any story that was ever written.

A poem by Mr. Gladstone, of ten stanzas, is printed, a hymn entitled "Holy Communion." The verses were never published before, with the exception of two stanzas that appeared in the *London Times*. Mr. Gladstone as a hymn-writer is interesting enough as a spectacle, and yet even through the reverence that we feel for the devotional inspiration of the great man, there is a consciousness that very much better hymns have been written.

Another boy story is from the pen of the "Boyville" novelist, William Allen White, and it is pleasant to compare Mr. Kipling and Mr. White in their attempts to portray boy nature. They are both good to read.

General Miles' series of articles on "Military Europe" is occupied this month with "Observations and Experiences at the Autumn Manoeuvres in Russia, Germany, and France." General Miles, in describing the vast military resources of Russia—it is probable that Russia could in case of war mobilize with tolerable ease in the

first line of battle an army of at least 1,355,000, with a reserve of about 1,100,000—says that he considers the Russian army capable of greater endurance in the field than any other in Europe. "The infantry and artillery are composed of strong, hearty men, and the cavalry are unexcelled." He deems the Cossacks the best cavalry in the world, and thinks their horses are, too, the best horses in the world. Part of this state of affairs is due to the fact that the Russian people take better care of their horses than other nations. "They are strong, well fed, and full of spirit, and not mutilated in the cruel manner in which we find them in too many other countries of Europe and in our own country. In Russia it is considered bad form for a driver to carry a whip, and I never saw during my stay there a horse that appeared to be ill treated or ill fed."

The war contribution to the August *McClure's* is Lieutenant-Colonel Rowan's account of his ride across Cuba on his secret mission to the Cuban leaders. From the time that Lieutenant Rowan left Jamaica, on April 23, until he arrived in Key West, on May 11, he was exposed to all the dangers which a state of war brings to the dispatch-bearer who ventured into the enemy's territory. Sleeping on stone ballast in the bottom of an open boat, climbing on foot through thickets, riding fifty miles or more a day over abandoned roads or through unbroken forests, stopping only when preparation for continuing the trip required it, exposed to wind and sun and waves for two days in a boat so small that the occupants were forced to sit upright in it, forced on land and sea to keep continually on the alert for a watchful enemy—these are experiences which Lieutenant Rowan dismisses as mere incidents.

There is a further chapter of Charles A. Dana's "Reminiscences" and several readable stories. We have quoted in another department from parts of General Miles' article on "Military Europe."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE *Cosmopolitan* for August contains articles by the editor, Mr. John Brisben Walker, and by Maj. George M. Wheeler, on the "Necessity for a General Staff" at Washington, and we have quoted from them in another department.

The magazine opens with an account by Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage, of "The United States Treasury Department," which is occupied in detailing the functions of that huge organization. Many of these functions are of a most unexpected character, for aside from the charge which the Department has of the finances of the nation, it has come to be a department of commerce as well. In this character it has charge of the merchant marine, and its revenue cutters examined last year more than 18,000 vessels. It rendered assistance to 82 in distress, with 623 persons on board, and is now engaged in a daring attempt to rescue the ice-bound whalers in the Arctic Ocean near Point Barrow. The Coast and Geodetic Survey is also under the Treasury Department, and attached to it is the office of standard weights and measures, which tests and standardizes the weights and measures now in daily use. Secretary Gage tells us of a great undertaking which the Coast and Geodetic Survey is finishing, after working since 1871. It is to determine the size and figure of the earth, and particularly of the North American continent and our own country. The light-house and life-saving services are also under Secretary Gage,

together with the hospitals and relief stations for the care of sick and disabled seamen from the merchant marine of the United States. In fact, over 50,000 seamen are now treated annually in these hospitals. An entirely different function is that exercised over the erection of public buildings. In the Treasury Department altogether there are some 25,000 employees, or an army equal to the regular army of the United States.

M. Katherine Locke has a readable travel sketch entitled "To the Summit of Mount Hood," with some first-class photographic views of scenes in the journey to the top of this mighty mountain.

Charles F. Dewey contributes a sketch of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and Clarence Pullen "A Romance of the Klondike."

Mark Twain, too, appears in this number in a characteristic skit entitled "At the Appetite Cure." The irrepressible Mark describes in this his adventures at the Hochberghaus. "It is in Bohemia, a short day's journey from Vienna, and being in the Austrian empire is, of course, a health resort. The empire is made up of health resorts; it distributes health to the whole world. Its waters are medicinal. They are bottled and sent throughout the earth; the natives themselves drink beer." The theory of this institution, the Hochberghaus, was that all indigestion and all lack of appetite was due to too much eating, and by an insidious course of starvation it cures, according to Mr. Clemens, the most refractory cases on record. And he apparently agrees with the system of the proprietor, which is based on the idea that whoever you be you may cure yourself if you won't listen to the family and will simply starve for a greater or less length of time. "When you have any ordinary ailment, particularly of a feverish sort, eat nothing at all during twenty-four hours. That will cure it. It will cure the stubbornest cold in the head, too. No cold in the head can survive twenty-four hours' unmodified starvation."

The *Cosmopolitan* takes this very seriously, evidently, for it follows Mark Twain's sketch with a scientific analysis of the phenomenon of hunger, by V. J. Youmans, M.D.

The editor of the *Cosmopolitan* writes to give his grounds for believing that the "Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte" which is being printed in the magazine is authentic, and after summing up the evidence gives his own opinion most strongly in favor of authenticity.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE August *Atlantic Monthly* contains an essay by Sidney Lanier, printed under the title "The Proper Basis of English Culture," which we have quoted from in another department.

Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, writing under the title "The Old World and the New," comes naturally to the present situation of our United States and its "imperialistic" possibilities. "Many of us," he says, "deplore the Spanish war; many of us now look forward with anxious solicitude concerning the effect of victory on the victor; but still, as we survey the movements of human history in the large we cannot fail to see in all that is occurring the inevitable grist of the mills of the gods and the irrefragable judgments of the *Weltgericht*. Spain and the Middle Ages could not tarry in the West. We, on the other hand, could not shut ourselves within the walled gardens of our pleas-

ant domesticity and shun responsibilities that the commerce and intercourse of the larger world exact of those who stand for order and equal justice in the affairs of men."

President Seth Low, writing somewhat philosophically on "The Trend of the Century," sums up his essay as follows:

"The trend of the century has been to a great increase in knowledge, which has been found to be, as of old, the knowledge of good and evil; that this knowledge has become more and more the property of all men rather than of a few; that, as a result, the very increase of opportunity has led to the magnifying of the problems with which humanity is obliged to deal; and that we find ourselves, at the end of the century, face to face with problems of world-wide importance and utmost difficulty, and with no new means of coping with them other than the patient education of the masses of men."

President Charles Kendall Adams writes on "Some Neglected Aspects of the Revolutionary War," and Irving Babbitt attempts to do justice to the "Lights and Shades of Spanish Character."

Prof. Simon Newcomb contributes "Reminiscences of an Astronomer," and very interesting reminiscences they are, especially those which deal with the English astronomer, Professor Airy, the head of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich.

Mr. Miles was a felicitous selection on the part of the *Atlantic*'s editor to write the sketch of Edward Bellamy, even though the novelist will seem to some readers to transgress in that lovable way of his with over-enthusiasm and an excess of charity. Mr. Howells says with his accustomed courage that Bellamy knew how to move the heart of the American nation more than any other American author who has lived.

"The theory of those who think differently is that he simply moved the popular fancy; and this may suffice to explain the state of some people, but it will not account for the love and the honor in which his name is passionately held by the vast average, east and west. His fame is safe with them, and his fate is an animating force concerning whose effect at this time or some other time it would not be wise to prophesy. Whether his ethics will keep his aesthetics in remembrance I do not know; but I am sure that one cannot acquaint one's self with his merely artistic work, and not be sensible that in Edward Bellamy we were rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by that of Hawthorne."

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

THE Chautauquan for August opens up with a description of "The Vitals of a Battleship," by a well-known Washington correspondent, Richard Lee Fearn. Mr. Fearn thinks that of the four battleships now in commission in the United States navy—five more are under construction and Congress has recently authorized three in addition—the *Iowa* is to be considered the finest vessel belonging to us, and not only that, but is unsurpassed by any of the fighting ships of the world. The so-called battleship consists essentially of two distinct vessels. One is heavily armored and is built within the other, which is unarmored. The armored portion is practically a complete double-turreted monitor, similar in size and power to the ships of the *Puritan* and *Monterey* type. The unarmored sections extend forward and aft for the purpose of supplying

additional seaworthiness, freeboard, and coal capacity, and include the superstructure, providing accommodations for the large crew and furnishing increased elevation and protection for the numerous rapid-fire rifles and the auxiliary and secondary batteries. The essential principle of the construction of the unarmored portion is that it shall be minutely sub-divided into watertight compartments, especially near and below the water-line. Between these compartments communication may be instantly cut off by water-tight doors, having the office of rendering each section of the ship independent of the others. Another device for minimizing the dangers of leakages in action is the result of American ingenuity, and is prepared of corn-pith product specially manufactured for the purpose, which, packed in cells, has the quality of immediately swelling upon contact with the water. Mr. Fearn tells us that this corn-pith armor has immediately closed up a hole made by an eight-inch projectile, so that not a drop of water penetrated the interior of the ship. In addition to these cell compartments, and within them, the whole vessel is a veritable labyrinth of larger apartments. The *Iowa*, for instance, is cut up into a hundred and forty different rooms, each of which can be instantaneously isolated from all the others and all of which are connected with powerful pumps, ever ready to neutralize the consequences of injury. The result of the vast elaboration of which these are suggestions, in the building of a modern battleship, is that the *Iowa*, for instance, cost over six millions of dollars, of which three millions was for her hull and machinery, one million for her armor, one million for guns, and a million more for equipment. Besides, she carries at least a million dollars' worth of ammunition and other stores, so that as she rides in the water the United States has concentrated in her at least seven millions of dollars, not counting the pensions it will have to pay if anything goes wrong with her sailors.

Dr. William Eliot Griffis, the well-known writer on Japanese subjects, discusses "The Spaniard in the Far East," and has nothing to say to relieve the guilt which all writers have portrayed in their accounts of Spanish colonization in the Philippines and Carolines. Dr. Griffis argues further than this local phenomenon, and states his belief that the Spanish idea of colonization as revealed in all of their efforts brings forth the Latin type of civilization in its extreme and most degenerate form and in the very opposite of the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon ideal. This historic truth is evident to the most casual visitor to Manila. The newcomer has his pockets searched and his trunk tumbled over for Mexican dollars of a certain date, and pamphlets criticising the priests are prohibited. Everything seems to be under the control of the clericals. The archbishop is practically the supreme ruler, for nothing is done without his consent. From him down through bishops, priests, monks, nuns, and native catechists runs a vast and intricate network stretching over humanity from the cradle to the grave and holding within it everything that belongs to the political, commercial, and social life of both native and foreigner. The political spoils system, too, is in league with the prevalent venal clericalism in the Philippines, and the consequence is that nowhere else on earth has its horrors and wickedness been so marked.

The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw tells about "Women in the Ministry," and has quite the courage of her con-

victions in arguing for the capabilities of her sex to serve as ministers of the Gospel. Perhaps the most significant thing in her sketch is the fact that she includes Emma Booth-Tucker, consul of the Salvation Army, among the notable personages in the feminine priesthood. Ten years ago it would have been strange indeed for a consul of the Salvation Army to be thus arrayed with the elect.

There are a half dozen more short articles on readable or useful subjects, many of them illustrated, in this number of the *Chautauquan*, which is an unusually good one: "Bird Songs of Early Summer," by F. S. Matthews; "Farm Life in Virginia," by David H. Wheeler; "The True Business Education," by Harvey L. Biddle; "Liquefied Air," by Prof. George F. Barker; "Overhead Tramways," by H. W. Lanier; and F. Leroy Armstrong's account of "The Daily Papers of Chicago."

NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the *New England Magazine* is an article by R. Clipston Sturgis on "The Evils of Our Wooden Suburbs," which we have quoted from in another department.

This August number of the magazine is chiefly occupied, after the opening paper on the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which has many illustrations, with pleasant travel sketches and stories. Mr. John Ritchie, Jr., gives this account of the American Association, telling the story of its inception in 1840, when a meeting of geologists was held in Philadelphia. Mr. Ritchie regards the work of the association as of the vastest importance, since though America was by no means without scientific men before it, yet they worked independently or in little groups clustered about the few centers of learning, and lost a great deal through the scattering of their elements of strength. For some twenty-five years from four hundred to a thousand scientists, the best that America has to send, have gathered at each meeting of the association.

Henry C. Shelley contributes a prettily illustrated description of "The Birthplace of Gray's Elegy," Stoke Poges Churchyard, near Windsor Castle, by William H. Stone, the pictures being made from photographs along the old roads and the line of abandoned farms. Still another travel sketch describes "The Middlesex Fells," and Isabel C. Barrows gives her experiences in "Summer Camping in the Woodland," and advocates strongly this form of holiday life for both boys and girls.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Munsey's Magazine* begins with a great number of very handsome portraits of "The Leaders of the Army," rather the best and most cleanly printed collection we have seen.

John Alden Adams writes on "The Wealth of the Philippines," rehearsing what has been already said as to the desperate state of those islands under the clergy and tax-collector, and pointing out the very rich opportunities that will be offered to fortune-seekers when the great tropical island group shall be opened as a new field for American enterprise. Mr. Adams thinks there are possible fortunes in Manila tobacco, the excellence of which "has not hitherto been fully realized by the world at large." He says that the cheroot which we have associated with Manila is made from the cheaper

grades of the leaf and is manufactured chiefly for the sailors of foreign ships, and that the better qualities of the Philippine tobacco are exceedingly fine. The cigars and cigarettes are, too, phenomenally cheap, ordinary cigars costing from thirty cents to one dollar and thirty cents a hundred. He has other chapters on "possible fortunes" in coffee, rice, indigo, cocoanuts, lumber, and mining, but is rather vague in his directions as to how these fortunes are to be realized.

Richard H. Titherington contributes an illustrated article on "The Rise and Fall of Spain," a subject rather large for the compass of three or four thousand words, and there are some good pictures in the chapter entitled "War Time Snap Shots."

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE *Ladies' Home Journal* respects the sensations of the dog-days and omits any articles of serious import from its current number. There are pleasant stories by Julia Magruder, Abbe Carter Goodloe, John Kendrick Bangs, and others, and a charming tale, in verse, of the witchcraft days of Massachusetts, by Virginia Woodward Cloud, entitled "The Girl of Salem," cleverly illustrated by Alice Barber Stevens.

On the editorial page there is a discussion of the oft-mooted question, "Shall Our Girls Go to College?" and the editor gives his common-sense decision as follows :

"All things being equal, a college training is unquestionably a source of inestimable value to a girl as it is to a man, and she is the better equipped for her duties of wife and mother because of it. Knowledge is always valuable. Yet it does not by any means follow that a girl unable to go through college is at a disadvantage with her girl friend who did. Where it is feasible and possible it is an excellent part of a girl's equipment, and its advantages will come back to her a thousandfold in her future years. But in the majority of cases the college training is not feasible nor possible. It is a very grave question, indeed, whether our girls, taking them as a whole and in the vast majority, are ready as yet to go to college. If going to college simply means to a girl's mind the fun to be had, it is infinitely better that she should remain at home. Such a girl will gain nothing from a collegiate experience. If a girl is inclined to be selfish and hungers simply for a brilliant career, it is wisest that the softening influence of a home remain her portion. If she is physically not strong—and this is a point too often overlooked in sending girls to college—the watchful home care is a thousand times better for her than the best care she can procure at any school or college. If the making of desirable social acquaintances is a girl's one aim in going to college, it is better that she should remain at home. If, from the mother's standpoint, a college term simply means to her daughter a better knowledge of discipline and punctuality, then, too, it is a grave question whether the college is the right place. It is by no means creditable to American family life that in so many instances the college is used to impress the discipline which should be for the mother to teach. Our girls' colleges are not to be regarded as schools of behavior, and their principals justly resent this very general classification of them. The laws which regulate behavior belong to the home."

THE ARENA.

THE August number of the *Arena* opens with a paper by the editor, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, entitled "The United States and the Concert of Europe," which is quite at variance in some of its conclusions from Mr. Flower's article in the same magazine on the proposed Anglo-American alliance, from which we quote elsewhere. Dr. Ridpath vigorously opposes such an alliance because it would involve us in the "concert of Europe," so called, and because Great Britain is a gold-standard country and will insist that our debts to her citizens be paid in gold.

There are two elaborate legal discussions in this number—one by Dr. F. E. Daniel, on "The Criminal Responsibility of the Insane," the other by James W. Stillman, on "The Misuse of Injunctions."

One of the features of the August number is a symposium on "The Churches and Social Questions," in which the subject of "Manhood in the Pulpit" is treated by the Rev. G. W. Buckley, "The Religious Press and Social Reforms" by Robert E. Bisbee, and "The Church and the Masses" by T. S. Loneragan.

A Japanese student in this country, Chujiro Kochi, writes on Japanese home life as contrasted with American, claiming for the Japanese wife a superior devotion to her husband.

Dr. Lincoln Cothran advocates the establishment by the Government of a universal sanitarium for consumptives. For this purpose he recommends the purchase of a tract of land in southern California or Arizona, where the air is dry and the barometric pressure uniform. Out-of-door life should be encouraged.

"The American Girl: Her Faults and Her Virtues" is the subject of a paper by Mr. William Rhodes Campbell; Mr. B. O. Flower contributes an essay on Socrates; and Amelia C. Briggs relates "A Tramp's Experience." The editor discusses the question, "Is the Prophet Dead?"

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN another department we have quoted from Mr. Rufus F. Zogbaum's thrilling paper on "The Regulars in the Civil War," which appears in the July *North American*, and also from Mr. Penfield's article on "International Piracy" in the same number.

The opening article of the number is an account of "What Britain Has Done for Egypt," by Mr. Ralph Richardson. This writer makes the broad claim, which we presume will hardly be challenged, that England's administration in Egypt has been wise, honest, energetic, and popular with the natives themselves.

Mr. John W. Russell describes in detail the new federal constitution of Australia, known as the Commonwealth bill, the chief features of which were modeled after provisions in the Constitutions of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

In concluding an article on "The Resources and Industries of Spain," Mr. Edward D. Jones aptly summarizes the present needs of the Spanish people in these words :

"Spain needs schools and progressive agricultural and commercial newspapers. She needs to look at home to the condition of her fields and roads and canals, rather than to waste herself in foreign dominion. She needs to learn that a new order of knighthood has arisen depending upon industry and honesty, and that

this has supplanted the stilted parade of ancient lineages and the touchy pomposity of petty office."

Writing on "Seward's Ideas of Territorial Expansion," Mr. Frederic Bancroft goes over some of the ground covered in the May number of this REVIEW by the article on "Two Great American Treaties." He says in conclusion :

"Of all the truly great and patriotic statesmen of our history, Seward is the last to be taken as an infallible guide. He had a great passion to be brilliant, original, and dashing ; ordinary ideas had no charm for him. Some of his expressions in relation to expansion, if understood otherwise than as political philosophizing about a distant future, may be tinder in a time like the present. Other ideas of this are sober and may be very useful when we have to consider some new factors in the old question of national expansion."

The *North American* enjoys the unique distinction among American periodicals of publishing articles of Spanish origin during the present war. In the July number Emilio Castelar begins a study of Prince Bismarck, whom he chooses to regard first of all as a revolutionist.

The first of a series of papers on the United States Senate by ex-Senator Peffer appears in this number; there is also an article on the English prison system by Major Griffiths, and Mr. F. B. Thurber writes on the water-supply of Greater New York.

THE FORUM.

THE July *Forum* opens with an article on Gladstone by Justin McCarthy, who can do little more than reiterate what the English reviews have said in a hundred different ways in their June and July issues—that the Grand Old Man was the greatest Englishman of his time, if not of his century. Mr. McCarthy had already emphasized this truth in his books.

Mr. F. F. Hilder describes the Philippine Islands and their products. Mr. Hilder is very sanguine as to the "manifest destiny" of the islands:

"The world contains no fairer nor more fertile lands, no more promising field for commercial enterprise, and no people more worthy to be elevated to a higher place in the scale of nations and to be assisted by education and good government to obtain it. This is no imaginative statement, but the result of personal observation of the country and of intercourse with its people. If the Government of the United States accepts this mission and fulfills its obligations in accordance with the principles of liberty and the rights of man embodied in our Declaration of Independence, it will render good service both to humanity and progress as well as to our own citizens, who will reap a rich commercial harvest."

In discussing "The Ethics of Modern Warfare" the Hon. Samuel J. Barrows illustrates the opposing tendencies toward destructiveness and humanity in war by the story of the patent taken out by the Englishman, James Puckle, in 1718, on a gun with two different breech-plates, one for square bullets, to be used against the Turks, and the other for round bullets, to be used against Christians, on the principle that while round bullets were too good for a Turk, square ones were too bad for a Christian. Mr. Barrows contends, however, that the sphere of ethics has been greatly extended in the arts of war in modern times, and he proves this by citations from the recognized rules of war with refer-

ence to the means permitted and their relation to human life.

Mr. L. O. Howard, chief entomologist of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, writes on the part played by that troublesome insect, the San José scale, in the disturbance of relations between the United States and Germany. It seems that Germany had for years kept a scientific man of ability and standing attached to her Washington embassy for the sole purpose of studying everything bearing on American agriculture. This gentleman was as well posted in regard to the spread in this country of the San José scale as were our own officials. Through his efforts Germany was able to issue the decree against American fruits and plants at what seemed, from the German point of view, the proper moment.

The Hon. L. F. McKinney advocates as a remedy for the existing depression in our cotton industry the extension of the market for American goods, especially in the countries of South America, where little effort has been made by American manufacturers to cater to the demands of the trade.

Miss Adelaide R. Hasse directs attention to the shameless manner in which our Government has gone on from year to year neglecting the preservation of its national records and employing wasteful and chaotic methods of publication.

His excellency Albert von Schäffle, formerly Austrian minister of commerce, contributes the first of a series of articles on "Austria-Hungary Under the Reign of Francis Joseph;" Mr. C. Wood Davis combats Commissioner Wright's proposition that labor-saving machinery tends to "make labor;" Chief Pokagon, of the Pottawattamie Indians, writes on "Indian Superstitions and Legends;" and Dr. Ernst von Wildenbruch contributes a second paper on "The Evolution of the German Drama." We have quoted in another place from Senator White's article on the consular service and from Mr. Townsend's defense of the people of Hawaii.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE articles bearing on current topics are noticed elsewhere. This number of the *Contemporary* is well up to date.

FRANCE AS SHE IS AND WILL BE.

Madame Darmesteter reviews Mr. Bodley's book on France. As an observer of things as they are she thinks very highly of Mr. Bodley, but she has no great respect for his predictions as to the course things are likely to take. She says :

"If the course of history should falsify every one of Mr. Bodley's predictions (and this we are fairly sure will be the case), his book may still be read as a singularly accurate record of France as it strikes an intelligent contemporary in the tenth decade of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Bodley thinks that the centralized administration of France will inevitably before long get itself pitted with a military dictator. Madame Darmesteter, on the contrary, thinks it is much more likely that the administration will be decentralized. Her prophecy is that "France will again awake to a sense of political responsibility. The commune will become a school of energy, a center of civic education."

The most interesting passage in her review is that

in which she emphatically confirms Mr. Bodley's testimony as to the superiority of the average Frenchman, from the point of view of intelligence, over the men of other countries.

"I myself have often been struck with this as I discussed the question of Corea with a Parisian gasfitter, or planned out Caesar's battles with a small farmer in Provence, or learned the little I know of volcanic geology from bloused peasants in Auvergne. In addition to this fund of information (which penetrates as deep, it may be, in Scotland), the national capacity for philosophical ideas—for *des idées générales*—makes the Frenchman of the lower class approach his social betters more nearly on the intellectual side than the inferior members of any other European nation can come into contact with their aristocracy. Nor is this wide diffusion of intelligence that which Mr. Bodley praises most in the people he so often criticises: 'In their private and domestic capacity there are no people in the world so devoted and considerate to one another. In the relations of the human race which concern the home and the family they set an example to us. Industry, thrift, family sentiment, artistic instinct, cultivation of the soil, cheerful performance of patriotic duty, and collaboration of woman in the plan of life'—in these Mr. Bodley finds the secret of the grace, the charm, the prosperity of France. He is right."

THE FIRST AND WORST OF ANARCHIST APOSTLES.

Vernon Lee, writing on "Gospels of Anarchy," incidentally refers to the writings of Max Stirner, whose real name was Caspar Schmidt, the earliest and least read of anarchist writers, who died in 1856. She thus describes his teaching:

"Max Stirner builds up his system—for his hatred of system is expressed in elaborately systematic form—upon the notion that the *Geist*, the intellect which forms conceptions, is a colossal cheat forever robbing the individual of its due and marring life by imaginary obstacles; a wicked sort of archimago, whose phantas-magoria, duty, ideal, vocation, aim, law, formula, can be described only by the untranslatable German word *Spuk*, a decidedly undignified haunting by bogies. Against this kingdom of delusion the human individual—*der Einzige*—has been, since the beginning of time, slowly and painfully fighting his way; never attaining to any kind of freedom, but merely exchanging one form of slavery for another, slavery to the religious delusion for slavery to the metaphysic delusion; slavery to divine right for slavery to civic liberty; slavery to dogma, commandment, heaven, and hell for slavery to sentiment, humanity, progress—all equally mere words, conceits, figments, by which the wretched individual has allowed himself to be coerced and martyred; the wretched individual alone who is a reality. This is the darkest, if not the deepest, pit of anarchical thought."

THE RELIGION OF MR. WATTS' PICTURES.

Mr. Wilfrid Richmond, writing on this subject, says: "Art, in so far as it is religious, shows us just how much of its religion the national consciousness has really made its own. Mr. Watts seems to have made it the purpose of his religious art to express the demand which the English mind makes of the Gospel which claims our allegiance and belief."

"Nothing is more impressive, more inspiring in Mr. Watts' pictures than his sense of the vastness of the

divine element in life, its penetrative presence, the mighty grip with which it holds the world."

Mr. Richmond briefly describes some notable characteristics of Mr. Watts' paintings, and declares that it is in the picture, "She Shall Be Called a Woman," we have the most conspicuous manifestation of the power of his mission:

"The story of sin, told with unfaltering truth in the pictures on either hand, is dominated by the presentation of the majestic power of the creative word of love, the power that cannot fail, the word that will not return unto him void, but will accomplish that which He wills and prosper in the thing whereto He sent it."

THE REPORT OF THE OPIUM COMMISSION.

The Rev. Arnold Foster makes the report of the British opium commission the object of a sweeping condemnation. He charges the commissioners with almost every fault that such a body could commit, and declares that "evidence favorable to the use of opium was the only evidence that the commissioners seriously considered." Mr. Foster challenges Sir Henry Fowler to declare that "in the whole course of his Parliamentary experience he has ever known a report presented to Parliament which was, in parts at least, so entirely in the teeth of the evidence which had been submitted to the commissioners."

After running over the heads of the indictment, Mr. Foster declares:

"I desire nothing more than that the whole China evidence, with the statements of the royal commissioners relating thereto, might be submitted to a commission of three of her majesty's judges, and that they might issue a report on the subject."

In his opinion the ruin of China, which in the last year or two has so startled the world, is due more than anything else to opium. The Chinese buy less from India, but they consume more:

"In the year 1879-80 the net opium revenue of India was £8,251,670. In the year 1895-96 it was £3,159,400. This shrinkage is mainly due to the fact that in recent years, as the demoralization of the Chinese nation through opium has proceeded, the practice of cultivating opium for themselves, on the part of the Chinese people, has enormously increased."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BESIDES the articles relating to subjects of con temporary political and social interest, which are noticed elsewhere, the *Nineteenth Century* for July has some interesting articles of a miscellaneous nature.

A SHORT WAY WITH HERETICS.

Canon Wood, writing on "The Just Punishment of Heretics," describes the views of Alfonso de Castro, the confessor and chaplain of Philip of Spain, who has erroneously been believed to have deprecated the burning of heretics. He published a treatise on "Heresies," from which Canon Wood makes some extracts:

"'Heresies' he says, 'ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost!' What wonder, then, that De Castro in his day should lay down as indubitable that heretics ought to be punished capitally 'by the sword of the executioner, or by fire, or in any other way'? 'The kind of death,' he says, 'does not

matter.' No particular manner of death [he tells us] is prescribed by the civil or imperial law. In Flanders and other parts of Lower Germany, when I was there ten years ago, I saw heretics put to death by beheading. In Gueldres, their feet and hands tied, they were thrown alive into a river. In the same way, as I heard from many eye-witnesses, a well-known Lutheran was punished by the order of Margaret, the Emperor's aunt. At Bruges, I was told by many who had witnessed it, it was the custom to plunge them alive into boiling oil. When I was there, however, they were only beheaded. In other parts of Christendom with which I am acquainted it is the established custom to burn them, as I have seen done in France, especially at Paris, and in Spain, and I think this has always been the custom in Italy."

MOHAMMEDAN INFLUENCE IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Canon Robinson, writing on "Civilization in the Western Soudan," gives an interesting account of the town of Kano, situated 700 miles from the Gold Coast and 1,600 from Khartoum. Kano is the capital of the Hausa race, with a larger population than that of any other African town but one. The average daily attendance in the Kano market-place is 30,000, and it has a distinct civilization and literature of its own. The Hausa are Mohammedans, but Canon Robinson, as the result of his examination of the facts, does not think that the influence of Islam has been one of the causes which have contributed to their civilization :

"So far as the existing evidence goes, it seems very doubtful indeed whether the Hausas owe anything at all to the influence of Mohammedanism for the striking degree of civilization which they have already attained. Nor is it at all likely that it will do in the future what it has failed to do in the past. The rôle of Mohammedanism in the Central Soudan is, indeed, played out."

THE COAL SUPPLY OF THE WORLD.

Mr. Benjamin Taylor, writing on this subject, ciphers up that the world yields every year 574,500 tons of coal, 217,000,000 of which represent the output of the British empire. Of that total England sells only 37,000,000 tons to the foreigner. The coal output of the United States in 1890 was 169,000,000 tons. The empire and the republic, therefore, between them represent 387,000,000 out of 574,000,000 tons, the whole output of the world. Germany is the third coal power, but her output is under 80,000,000 tons. No other power exceeds 40,000,000 tons.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Herbert Paul's "Art of Letter-Writing" takes Lord Byron's letters as the text for a discursive dissertation full of charming literary gossip on the art of letter-writing and personalities of letter-writers. Mr. Claude Phillips writes on the French Salons. Mr. Stanley Young writes on *Cyrano de Bergerac*, a writer who has also attracted attention in another magazine. Mr. Hadden writes on what he calls "The Wagner Mania."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for July is a good number, quite up to its usual average. Besides the articles noticed elsewhere which bear upon the current questions of the day, there are many others of miscellaneous interest.

SOME NOTABLE FRENCH WOMEN.

Mlle. Yetta Blaze de Bury writes very pleasantly concerning "French Women in French Industry." She selects four who are types of the modern French women who are to the front in industry and commerce in France. The first place she naturally assigns to Madame Boucicaut, who was the virtual founder of the great wholesale house of Bon Marché. After the death of her husband she undertook the direction of the whole concern, and it was under her management that the annual business amounted to \$30,000,000 and the annual profit to \$160,000. The second is Caroline Reboux, known as the queen of the milliners, who employs 150 work-women. Every season each of her 16 apprentices and workers is given a week to invent a new bonnet. Madame Reboux has been appointed to represent Parisian commerce at the exposition of 1900. Her third example is Madame Bernet, who is supreme in the world of feathers, and her fourth Madame Dumas, who deals in wall-papers. It is notable that in all these cases these women have established the principle of a partnership of profits with their leading hands. Madame Reboux, for instance, divides one-half the total profits with the head cashier, the forewoman, the directress of the workroom, and the head manager. Mademoiselle De Bury lays stress on the fact that none of these women were driven to business by ambition, but by a desire to provide for their relatives, and she insists upon "the order, clearness, and precision with which each of the above-mentioned women can, at a moment's notice, find the wished-for model, lay her hand on the needed pattern. The second point which interests and edifies the visitor is the infinite tenderness which seems to emanate from the entire staff."

GIACOMO LEOPARDI.

Mr. W. Knox Johnson devotes twenty pages to an enthusiastic description of Leopardi, whom he describes as a great and weary soul with a Christian heart and a pagan head, who deserves to rank as one of the great intellects of our century. Mr. Johnson repudiates the idea that he should be classed with the Byrons, De Mussets, and other exponents of the sadness of the age. He represents not the sadness of satiety, but the sadness of thought. He is a master of language worthy to be named with Dante and Milton; and if we ask why it is that he is so little known, Mr. Johnson replies :

"The answer must be sought in the inadequacy of his ideas, as a whole, to the facts of life. The world of literature is a democracy, and to the majority the sad wisdom of Leopardi will remain foolishness: men go to him, and will go, for the beauty of his interpretation; few only will go to him to be calmed, or comforted, or sustained. He himself, with his entire freedom from illusions, knew that this was so. His irony has not been surpassed: it is cold, precise, terrible, and whatever it touches it scathes like fire."

THE DISSOLVING EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA.

Mr. Francis W. Hirst discusses the perilous state of the Austrian empire from the point of view of one who is German rather than Slav in sympathy. He insists strongly upon the need of a single language, and maintains that everything will go to pieces if the ambitions of the smaller nationalities are gratified. He says their grievances are real, but their expectations are greater than their capacity:

"They are strong enough to endanger the empire; not strong enough to protect themselves when they have shattered the present structure. Loyal supporters of the dynasty must look at the past with regret, at the present with dismay, and at the future with an apprehension bordering on despair. Nevertheless, there is still a possibility of better things if real parliamentary government can be substituted for the present sham constitutionalism, and if a reform of the franchise should awake in a dormant democracy something like the liberalism which saved England in the 30s and 40s. For the moment the outlook is gloomy in the extreme."

CAN ENGLAND HOLD HER OWN AT SEA?

The Hon. T. A. Brassey, in an article suggested by Mr. H. W. Wilson's paper on this subject, comes to the conclusion that Great Britain can, for the moment, fairly well hold her own against three powers, but in the future it is doubtful:

"Are the unaided resources of the United Kingdom sufficient to maintain a navy equal to a combination of those of the three greatest powers in the world? We can build against any two powers, but it is to be feared that we cannot continue to build for any length of time against three. In the future, when Canada, Australia, and South Africa are able to bear their fair share of imperial burdens, the resources of the British empire should be equal to the task. Meanwhile the advance of the United States as a naval power is an encouraging feature in the situation."

THE STATE AND THE THEATER.

Sir Henry Irving publishes a lecture, which he delivered at Cambridge on June 15, on the theater and its relations to the state. He deals very much in generalities, and the gist of what he says is summed up in the following paragraph:

"The state should exercise an influence, ranging between control and aid, on all matters which have an indirect, as well as those having a direct, bearing on its welfare and its progress; it should be even jealously mindful for the true good of those institutions which have power to touch the hearts of the people—to hold their sentiments, to awake and stimulate their imagination; and so to aid in turning lofty thoughts into acts of equal worth. In this category the theater is an item of vast potentialities—a natural evolution of the needs and thoughts and wishes of the people—an institution which has progressed for good unaided by the state, and which in future should distinctly be in some degree encouraged by the state or by municipalities. How exactly this is to be accomplished remains to be seen."

FREE TRADE AND CHEAP SUGAR.

Mr. Charles F. Parker pleads strongly in favor of Great Britain adopting the countervailing duty system as a method of beating down the bounties, which, if they were done away with, would increase the cost of sugar twenty-five shillings a ton. Mr. Parker says:

"This country has been invited to a conference of the continental powers at Brussels and has accepted. The course to be pursued by our representatives at the conference has yet to be decided, but there is only one that can have the desired effect, viz., that England should sign an agreement on the lines above mentioned, guaranteeing that if bounties are abolished she will prohibit or countervail the produce of any country infringing

the agreement by granting bounties. Such action would at once effect the abolition of bounties, thereby securing free trade in our own markets."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

IN another place we have quoted at some length from the article on "Mexico and the Hispano-American Conflict," appearing in the *Westminster* for July.

ENGLAND'S DEPENDENCE ON RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Major Deykin, in a paper on "The Critical Position of England," calls attention to the fact that Russia and the United States have only to make an alliance against Great Britain to have her at their mercy, and that without firing a shot.

"That we are the wealthiest and the strongest country at the present moment in the world, particularly at sea, no one will deny; but, with only three months' supply of food before us, and living, as it were, from hand to mouth, we should be in a state of starvation in three months if any untoward event were to happen to our fleet so as to prevent free importation of food into this country. In case of war this might even happen without a single engagement on the sea if Russia and the United States agreed to stop supplies and simply starve us into submission, as the Parisians were forced to surrender by the blockade of the German armies in 1870-71.

"In 1896 the United Kingdom imported 23,431,000 quarters of breadstuffs and produced only 4,325,000 quarters. Of these imports Russia and the United States produced about 19,160,000 quarters, leaving only 4,271,000 quarters of her imports free from the control of these two powers, who, as above stated, are not particularly friendly toward us."

A SINISTER SUGGESTION.

Mr. E. Pratt, in a paper on India and England, makes a suggestion as to a possible source of corruption in English public life, for which we trust there is no foundation. The paragraph to which we refer is as follows:

"May I venture to suggest to Mr. Bhownaggee, the Indian gentleman who, in the absence presumably of a qualified Englishman, represents Northeast Bethnal Green in the present Parliament, that he might do useful work in preparing the public mind for such a possible catastrophe by moving for a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the history of the constitution and the resources of the election fund of each of our political parties, with a view to ascertain to what extent each fund has had and has influential support in the bureaucracy of India; whether there be a possible connection between the extent of their support and the distribution of rewards and honors in India and the India Office, or a connection between such support and the condonation of offenses committed by those who have been decorated, betitled, and honored. If the public must have a surprise, they had better have at once a small one rather than apathetically await a greater surprise in the shape of a catastrophe."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Edmond Wilson, replying to Professer Mahaffy on modern education, protests against the notion that the proper university course in the nineteenth century

should be limited to those subjects which were sufficient for a priest in the fourteenth. The proper university course ought to include everything which a woman should know. There is a review of Zola's "Paris," and an article by Isabel Foard pleading for a more scientific system of dealing with criminals and dipsomaniacs, while the series of erudite articles on "Signs of the Cross" is prolonged for yet one more chapter.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

EXCEPTING the triple chronicle and the editor's article upon "The Military Terror in France," there is not much calling for special mention in the July number of the *National*.

FUTURE BRITISH POLICY IN CHINA.

Mr. A. Michie contributes a rather pessimistic paper on British policy in China. The favored nation, the open door, and equality of opportunity, he declares, have all gone by the board. His general advice is that the British Government ought to pull itself together and set to work to back British enterprise, as the German, Russian, and French governments back their subjects. He recalls the fact that thirty years ago the great desire of British diplomacy in the East was to choke off British railroad projectors, but the situation has completely changed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "MAINE."

Mr. H. W. Wilson discusses the evidence as to the causes which led to the loss of the *Maine*, and sums up in favor of the theory that it was blown up by a mine purposely laid down in the immediate neighborhood of the ship by the Spanish Government. This, he thinks, would have been perfectly justified considering that war might have broken out at any moment, and it was necessary for the Spanish Government to be prepared. The actual explosion he attributes to the action of some unauthorized person who gained access to the shore key and connected the firing battery.

THE STREET-MUSIC QUESTION.

Mr. H. H. Statham summarizes the official reports as to the method in which street music is regulated in the various countries of the continent and the cities of America. Mr. Statham is for drastic measures. He would legislate on the principle that no unlicensed performer, good or bad, should be allowed in the public streets at all. Secondly, that all barrel organs or mechanical methods of producing music should be peremptorily and entirely stopped; but he makes other suggestions as to how his principles should be carried out. He would, however, sacrifice everything to the abolition of the barrel organ.

"THE MILITARY TERROR IN FRANCE."

Under this title Mr. L. J. Maxse presents his readers with a connected account of the Dreyfus trial. Mr. Maxse thinks that the operation of the court-martial, which has deprived M. Joseph Reinach of his rank, constitutes a very grave development of the military system. M. Reinach is in the reserve, as are most Frenchmen who are under forty-five. He is not in active service, and yet, because he offended the military authorities by commenting on the Dreyfus case, he is court-martialed, tried *in camera*, and dismissed with dishonor from the service. Mr. Maxse thinks that this

is another instance of the way in which the landmarks of the republic are being swept away one by one. Is France, he asks, drifting into a military terror? That would indeed be a heavy price to pay in order that a palpably innocent man may perish on the Devil's Island while the real criminal flaunts it in Paris.

A CONTRACTOR-GOVERNED COLONY.

In "The Colonial Chronicle" the editor, referring to the extraordinary fashion in which the Legislature of Newfoundland has handed over the whole colony to the railroad contractor Reid, quotes the following extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch, in which, after explaining that the home government is restrained on constitutional grounds from vetoing the measure, he cannot refrain from calling attention to its extraordinary nature:

"Under the contract 'practically all the crown lands of any value became, with full rights to all minerals, the freehold property of a single individual, the whole of the railroads were transferred to him, the telegraphs, the postal service, and the local sea communications, as well as the property in the dock at St. John's. Such an abdication by a government of some of its most important functions is without parallel. The colony is divested forever of any control over or power of influencing its own development, and of any direct interest in or direct benefit from that development. It will not even have the guarantee for efficiency and improvement afforded by competition, which would tend to minimize the danger of leaving such services in the hands of private individuals.'

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

SIR JOHN MOWBRAY contributes to *Blackwood* for July a series of interesting reminiscences under the heading "Seventy Years at Westminster." Born in 1815, the writer was educated at Westminster School, one of the privileges of which was that pupils might attend debates in Parliament. In this way he has a longer retrospect than those whose knowledge of Parliament only begins in adult life. Comparing the House of Commons in the years 1853 to 1857 with the same body to-day, Sir John remarks:

"I know it is the fashion to say that there is a great decadence in the tone and spirit as well as in the manners of Parliament. I think this is greatly exaggerated. The Parliament of 1880 was turbulent owing to the unsettled state of Ireland and the excitement among the Irish members within our walls. The short-lived Parliament of 1885-86 represented the great change which the lowering of the county franchise had made in the rural constituencies. But I believe the spirit which animates the House of Commons as a body is much the same now as it has ever been—a patriotic spirit, conscious of the great traditions which it inherits, and anxious to work for the good of the empire. There is and always has been a very real feeling of fraternity within the walls of the House. Members are not quite so willing as they were to burden themselves with the heavy work that falls on members who sit on committees. There is less rhetoric. Speakers are less profound and less ornate. Classical quotations are out of date and our ordinary debates are dull and commonplace. One really important change the House has made is in the hours it keeps."

ENGLAND'S TRADE IN CHINA

Blackwood calls attention to two facts in England's relations to China. First, "the privilege of trading throughout the whole of China has been ours by right for forty years, but has been neglected by our traders." Secondly, in regard to the illegal levy imposed on British goods by Chinese officials :

"It is a little startling to be told by an English official, and in a paper issued by the Foreign Office, that in those parts of China adjacent to the French territory these abuses have been suppressed, and that 'the French have freed our goods from Chinese exactions.' 'The energy of the French' is highly commended."

These and other failures of British merchants and diplomats are set down by the writer to their incurably maritime view of things. They are never at home except on the sea or seashore, and trade and policy that go inland are their weak points.

GLADSTONE'S FAILINGS.

The writer of the obituary sketch of Mr. Gladstone makes it his chief business to direct attention to his subject's faults, which he regards as "numerous and flagrant." The lack of "long-sighted persistency of purpose" is charged against him. Of his frequent change of opinion says this writer :

"We fear that one explanation lies in the entire absence from his mind, at starting on his career, of any well-thought-out and mature conviction . . . He was largely dependent on others for his final decisions and convictions . . . He could convince himself and most others of anything which he chose. . . . Another element in his character . . . is one which is responsible for much, *viz.*, an overweening personal vanity."

Mr. Gladstone's transition from Conservative to Liberal is thus explained :

"Personal antipathy to Disraeli in his new position of chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House was the cause and the striking characteristic of his new departure. . . . It is hard to say to which leader, Lord Palmerston or Disraeli, he was in reality the more averse; perhaps it was personally to Disraeli, politically to Lord Palmerston. But the latter was twenty years older than the former. Disraeli blocked the way to the leadership of the Conservatives, and these had a rooted distrust of him."

In this spirit his career is reviewed. After such criticisms it is refreshing, if surprising, to be told :

"In spite of his errors and gigantic mistakes there was a grandeur about the man both of character and intellect."

COSMOPOLIS.

THE Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke contributes to the English section of *Cosmopolis* for July a striking article on "The Three Powers and Greece," in which he maintains that France and Great Britain no longer deserve to be regarded as the champions of western civilization in the eastern Mediterranean, and that to Russia alone can we look for improvement.

In his notes on "The Theater in London," Mr. Arthur B. Walkley makes some interesting comments on the American temperament as it exhibits itself in the dramatic medium. He says :

"Besides Mr. Gillette and his comrades in farce, we have had a complete American company in an American melodrama, 'The Heart of Maryland,' and a third American company in a musical play, 'The Belle of New York.' In matters of art I do not think we English have anything to learn from these American plays and players. Military dramas would appear to be built upon the same formula all the world over; spies and the female relatives or sweethearts of the combatants play in these dramas a far more important part than falls to them in actual warfare. In 'The Heart of Maryland' both the Northern and Southern forces appeared to be commanded by spies in the service of the enemy, and the hearts of all the Federal ladies were hopelessly pledged to Confederate officers. Nor did 'The Belle of New York' show any advance in comic invention, wit, or melodic inspiration upon the musical plays which London has had the doubtful honor of originating. The American acting is apt to have a 'self-made,' unsophisticated air; it lacks finish, mellowness, and fastidiousness—everything, in short, which only *conservatoires* or jealously preserved stage traditions can impart. On the other hand, its vitality is tremendous; it is fresh, exuberant, rapid, and consequently exhilarating. Only an engineer could calculate the number of 'foot-pounds' of energy set free in one of these American entertainments. The result for the spectator may be a headache, but at any rate he cannot complain that he has been allowed to fall asleep—a fate that occasionally awaits him in our London playhouses."

This number of *Cosmopolis* has a Gladstone sketch in each of the three languages in which the magazine is printed. Justin McCarthy writes in English, Francis de Pressensé in French, and Dr. Theodor Barth in German.

The German section has an article on the military aspects of Spain by Siegfried Samosch.

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

M. DESJARDINS, who, it will be remembered, is the arbitrator between England and Belgium in the question of Mr. Tom Mann's expulsion, deals with the Spanish-American war so far as it illustrates the law of nations. As might be expected, the bulk of the article is of an extremely technical nature. The article is written in an eminently judicial strain. With regard to the action of the Americans in bombarding San Juan without previous warning, M. Desjardins

says that although international law does not forbid the bombardment of a town which is protected by forts, it nevertheless does impose upon the bombarding forces the formality of giving warning. He brings forward several quite modern instances, such as the action of France in the sieges of Antwerp, of Rome in 1849, and of Sebastopol. The Germans gave no warning before the bombardment of Paris; but a formal diplomatic protest was made to Bismarck, and the chancellor's assertion that warning was not demanded by the principles of the law of nations nor recognized as obligatory by mili-

tary usage was flatly contradicted by the whole diplomatic corps. Moreover, there are examples of formal warning in the Chino-Japanese war and in the operations of the English at Zanzibar two years ago.

SIR J. R. SEELEY.

M. Filon contributes an able study of the great English imperialist—Sir J. R. Seeley. It is a just criticism that Seeley rather ignores, among the factors of English greatness, the moral personality of the English people, which was formed and grew great in the struggle for political and religious liberty. Seeley overlooks this or minimizes it, because it is a manifestation of individualism and does not square with his theory of the expansion of England. M. Filon is evidently rather alarmed at the thought that if England in the past acquired so large an empire without exactly meaning to and by force of circumstances, or by anything in the world except by deliberate intention, how much more will she acquire in the future now that her eyes are opened and her mind fixed upon a policy of expansion! He has been reading the Colonial Office list, and is terrified at the calm way in which she yearly adds protectorate after protectorate to her already enormous responsibilities. On the whole, M. Filon regards the life and work of Sir J. R. Seeley as eminently a triumph of moral forces, as he calls them. This simple, modest professor ended by creating an immense current of opinion and actually uniting the two great political parties upon certain questions of the day. At the same time, he recognizes that the extreme imperialists—the bombastic, Chauvinistic jingoes—have endeavored to find in Seeley's book, "The Expansion of England," a justification for their wild ambitions, though they are incapable of understanding his curious scientific fatalism.

FRANCE AND HER ARMY.

M. Sully Prudhomme is given the place of honor in the second June number for his article entitled "Patrie, Armée, Discipline." He devotes himself mainly to the consideration of the social influence of the military spirit, a subject which is naturally, in view of the Dreyfus trial and subsequent events, of the greatest interest in France. Of course he recognizes that if any army is to be efficient, blind obedience must be paid to those in whose hands the supreme control is vested. That is indeed a truism, but M. Prudhomme seems to distinguish between different degrees of obedience. The more spontaneous the obedience is the better will be its effect, he thinks. The chiefs of an army have only an amount of moral authority proportioned to the extent to which their intellectual and moral power is recognized by their subordinates. All the mechanical organization, however intelligent it may be, of the material brute force of an army must be sterile without the assistance of this immaterial and spiritual strength furnished by spontaneous obedience. The bearing of these remarks on the Dreyfus case is sufficiently obvious, and they at any rate account for, without perhaps altogether justifying, the passionate rallying of the French people to the support of the chiefs of the army.

OTHER ARTICLES.

M. Ernest Daudet begins a series of articles forming an historical study of Louis XVIII. and the Duc Decazes. M. d'Avenel continues his studies of the economic conditions of the working classes in the Mid-

dle Ages, and an anonymous educational expert writes upon the political evolution of the primary school.

REVUE DE PARIS.

ALTHOUGH the *Revue* takes advantage of the Spanish-American war to publish a number of military articles, the actual conflict now proceeding is severely boycotted. However, there can be no doubt that both Colonel Wonarlarski's extremely vivid account of the taking of Plevna and the able anonymous article on the real value of modern fortresses have both been inspired by the fact that "war is in the air."

MODERN IRONSIDES.

The Russian soldier, portions of whose diary, written in 1877-78, are now published for the first time, was on the staff of the Grand Duke Nicholas. He gives a striking and, it must be admitted, not unfavorable picture of the Turkish soldiery; indeed, he goes out of his way to point out how far better the Turkish army behaved when the Russians finally made their way into Plevna than the soldiers of any other European nation would have done. Colonel Wonarlarski quotes a Russian proverb: "The man who is not a soldier has never really said his prayers." Skobeleff never went into action till his soldiers had knelt down and recited the "Our Father." And the most striking incident of the great day when Plevna fell was the thanksgiving service which was held in the presence of the troops, headed by the Czar. As is always the case in modern warfare, the fall of the Turkish stronghold by no means ended the war, and the writer describes at length the incredible privations cheerfully endured during the weeks which followed the defeat of Osman Pasha. It is curious to note that in the second military article published in the June *Revue de Paris* it is authoritatively stated that in the event of Russia going to war the Czar would only be ready to assume the offensive some ten weeks after the order to mobilize had been given to each commanding officer.

CONVENTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

As if to afford a complete contrast to the preceding articles, Mme. Arvède Barine, one of the most brilliant of French descriptive writers, gives a charming glimpse of those mediæval convents which played so great a part in the lives of our ancestors. Madame Barine declares that the convent of the eighth century was the Girton and Newnham of that day. Ibsen's *Nora* would have found refuge in a nunnery, and the "revolted daughter" have blossomed into a great and world-famed abbess. It is clear that Miss Eckenstein's "Woman Under Monasticism" has largely supplied the facts on which Madame Barine has written her article, and she deals mostly with British nunneries and their occupants. In the year 700 the Pope granted certain special privileges to the monasteries of Kent, and in the charter five abbesses signed their names immediately after the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester. Germany owed her first monasteries and convents to the missionary efforts of a British saint—Boniface. Accompanied by a group of English nuns, he went over to Germany and founded several large conventual establishments in wild, lonely stretches of country, given over till then to lawlessness and perpetual warfare. The Saxon abbesses soon became a power in the land, and the convent of Gandersheim ob-

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

tained the right to issue coins. It need hardly be said that pieces from these curious mints now form the joy of collectors. Probably few of the inhabitants of Whitby are aware that their town was founded by a nun. Hilda was, according to Madame Barine, "a girl with a head." She received the grant of land where Whitby now stands in 655. Nine years later a great synod was held there under her auspices, and she entertained in her convent all the most important guests.

MUSIC AND SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

M. Emmanuel discusses the part played by music in German university life. He does not touch on the popular side, but prefers to give an elaborate account of the way in which the higher musical studies and harmony classes are conducted. This article should be read by every person interested in the science of music. It is in some ways the most valuable and remarkable contribution published in the French June reviews.

German socialism has naturally a great fascination for French political writers. M. Milhaud goes over much old ground, but he points out some new features. His most interesting statement concerns the financial position of the socialist party. In most European countries socialism spells poverty. In Germany alone the leaders of the movement early realized that money was an essential element of success; accordingly the party is highly organized, and each official has a right to a salary. The German socialists form, to all intents and purposes, a huge trade union; thus, in spite of the iron heel of the Prussian Government, they exercise an immense and growing influence, for they alone practice what they preach; and when they fill public halls, and even hotel rooms, shut to their meetings, they are always ready to hold gatherings, admirably organized and arranged, in the open air, and this during every month in the year. Bebel has on many occasions actually held his meeting on a frozen lake or river.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Other articles consist of a series of letters written by Marshal Bugeaud from Algiers; of an analysis of the part played by nature in Shelley's poetry; and M. Vedel dedicates a short biographical account of Vasco da Gama to the present Queen of Portugal, Marie Amélie.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MADAME ADAM'S review apparently continues to flourish. The June numbers are certainly up to the average in point of interest.

THE SOUL OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

As in the case of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the Dreyfus-Esterhazy-Zola affair has here also produced an article on the army. M. d'Ameugny thinks that the last thirty years have witnessed great changes in the French army, and that there is as much difference between the army of to-day and that of thirty years ago as there was between the patriotism of the troops of the Revolution and the loyalty of the regiments of the old French kings. The army still keeps the military spirit, but in a different way. The young soldier nowadays is seldom removed far from the paternal roof, he

has plenty of "leave," and postage is cheap. But he passes the three years of military service in a sort of dream, comforting himself with the idea that it will soon be over, like a great schoolboy patiently counting the days to the holidays. This transitory service prevents the common soldier from giving himself up to the profession of arms with the same ardor as his officers do. On the other hand, the class of non-commissioned officers returning to the colors as their real vocation in life is increasing, partly, no doubt, because they have the prospect of obtaining commissions—an excellent arrangement which does not obtain in the German army. The officers of the army, says M. d'Ameugny, form not a caste nor a sort of religious order, but simply the institution which is most strongly organized in France by legislation and tradition. The old feudal links and sanctions have been swept away, but for them the republic has substituted others not less strong. Each officer nowadays holds his rank from the chief of the state, and he cannot be deprived of it except by the verdict of his brother-officers, his peers. He must not marry except under certain conditions as regards income, he must not leave France without permission, or publish anything under his own name without authority, or mix up in politics. All this makes the whole body of French officers a homogeneous corporation, which M. d'Ameugny evidently regards as an invaluable social backbone, so to speak. In a country where the idea of reverence has lost all its strength, where the name of God is systematically expunged from every official document, it is certainly a grand thing to have this great army permeating the whole national life with ideals of obedience and faith in France.

MADAME ADAM ON FOREIGN POLITICS.

Madame Adam is, perhaps, naturally not very well pleased with the attitude of the American press toward France, but she observes that French sympathy for Spain is far from being declared in the form in which the sympathy of the United States for Germany was declared in 1870-71. She cites General Grant's congratulations on the German victories, and declares that Mr. Washburne, the American minister in Paris, gave information to the Prussians. It is an old quarrel, and Madame Adam explains that France knows quite well how the United States were driven into the war. Madame Adam is much disturbed at Mr. Chamberlain's advances to the United States and to Germany, and she sorrowfully asks, Who would have ever believed that Italy could ally herself not only with Germany, but also with her hated enemy, Austria? She quotes a striking passage from a book of Count Beust's, published in 1872:

"Soon England will perceive that this Prussia . . . will sap the power of England in the world and will deliver her, with feet and hands tied, up to the implacable and furious hatred of America. . . . The whole of Europe will suddenly see the American eagle, after having snatched from Spain, in passing, the Queen of the Antilles, plunge into its affairs and lie heavy with an enormous weight on the monarchical destinies of old and small Europe."

But Madame Adam comforts herself with the conviction that an alliance of England with Germany and America, or with one of them, is doomed to sterility as being an abnormal and hybrid union.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

NATURE STUDY.

Nature for Its Own Sake : First Studies in Natural Appearances. By John C. Van Dyke. 12mo, pp. 312. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Professor Van Dyke gives expression in this book to the artist's conception—not of Nature in art or literature, but of Nature herself as a self-revealing and self-sufficient entity. His treatment is limited to inanimate Nature—the elements of landscape beauty, and has as little relation as possible to human or animal life. The book has chapters on light, clouds, rain and snow, the ocean, running waters, lakes, mountains, plains, forests—in short, all the more important features of natural scenery. Professor Van Dyke's interesting treatment of these subjects should lead to a more diligent study of "that nature around us which only too many people look at every day and yet never see," as the author's preface puts it.

Familiar Life in Field and Forest. By F. Schuyler Mathews. 12mo, pp. 300. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

Mr. Mathews, who has heretofore written very acceptably about flowers and trees, now invites our attention to the animal life of our American woods, farms, and hill-sides. His book is an unpretentious and well-informed naturalist's study of creatures that should be known with some degree of intimacy by those of us who can spend even a part of the year in the country. Among the illustrations of the volume are several photographs from nature by Mr. W. Lyman Underwood.

Nests and Eggs of North American Birds. By Oliver Davie. 8vo, pp. 548. Columbus, O.: Landon Printing and Publishing Company. \$2.25.

This is the fifth edition of Mr. Davie's valuable manual. The work has been thoroughly revised, and is now illustrated for the first time.

How to Name the Birds. By H. E. Parkhurst. 18mo, pp. 115. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Mr. Parkhurst has compiled a convenient pocket guide to the birds of the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He has greatly simplified the common system of bird classification for the beginner by omitting such details as are invisible at field-range and by emphasizing such characteristics as color, size, and time of appearance.

The Art of Taxidermy. By John Rowley. 12mo, pp. 255. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

This is an up-to-date and practical treatise prepared by the chief taxidermist of the American Museum of Natural History. The book is carefully illustrated.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. By Sydney George Fisher. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 391—393. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.

These volumes make a delightful revelation of colonial life and customs. Mr. Fisher's studies of the domestic architecture of the period are especially suggestive, and are illustrated with several excellent photogravures of typical country mansions. Altogether a great deal of interesting material is here brought to the reader's attention and presented in an attractive form.

The Life of David Dudley Field. By Henry M. Field. 8vo, pp. 376. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Dr. Field has given us an exceedingly compact and valuable survey of the life and public services of his eminent brother, the late David Dudley Field. David Dudley Field was born in 1805 and was in his ninetieth year when, in April, 1894, just after returning from one of his numerous visits to Europe, he passed away at his favorite home in Stockbridge, Mass. Through several decades of his long career David Dudley Field was the foremost figure at the American bar. He served the people of the United States most profoundly in his work for the codification of laws. The codes which he prepared, and which he advocated with such persistency and effect, are now with some modification in use in a great number of the States of the Union. Hardly less valuable were his services to the cause of the reform of international law and the development of the cause of peace among the nations. Dr. Field tells the story of the life of his eldest brother with an affection that adds many personal touches that enhance the readability of the volume; but he does not for a single moment forget the fact that David Dudley Field was preëminently a public character, whose biography must in the main be devoted to an account of his professional and external activities. The volume is not only a satisfactory contribution to the literature of American biography, but it will also add appreciably to several chapters of American history. For David Dudley Field had much to do with the nomination of Lincoln, with the efforts to avert the Civil War through peace conferences, and with the disputed Hayes-Tilden election of 1876.

Martin Luther, The Hero of the Reformation, 1483-1546. By Henry Eyster Jacobs. 12mo, pp. 469. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Dr. Jacobs, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, is a well-known authority upon the life, services and career of Martin Luther; and he has compacted into this convenient volume the results of wide study and familiar acquaintance with the whole body of Luther literature. So far as we are aware, this book will, better than any other, serve the purposes of the general reader who would like to acquaint himself with that great phase of the Protestant Reformation of which Luther was the leader and hero. This volume, we are glad to announce, is the opening one in a series entitled "Heroes of the Reformation" edited by Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson. Each volume will be at once scholarly and readable. The authors of the half dozen volumes now in preparation are abundantly competent.

John and Sebastian Cabot. By C. Raymond Beazley. 12mo, pp. 331. New York : Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

A clearly-written and straightforward account of the principal incidents in the remarkable voyages of the Cabots and their discovery of the mainland of North America in 1497. The work is based on the original sources of information and is probably the most authentic brief treatment of the subject yet published.

Talks With Mr. Gladstone. By the Hon. Lionel A. Tollemache. 12mo, pp. 223. New York : Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

The "talks" recorded in this little volume formed two series, the first of which occurred during the years 1856-70 and the latter in 1861-63. The writer, to use his own expres-

sion, "Boswellizes" Mr. Gladstone, and refrains from criticism for the most part. He is content to leave that task to others. Most of the conversations reported were on literary and theological subjects, and very few and slight allusions were made to politics.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Municipal History and Present Organization of the City of Chicago. By Samuel Edwin Sparling, Ph.D. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 23.) Paper, 8vo, pp. 188. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. 75 cents.

Considering the great difficulties in the way of a satisfactory study of his subject in its various phases, Dr. Sparling has prepared a very creditable account of Chicago's municipal development from the days of the town charter, through the period of special legislation and the reincorporation under the general charter law, down to the present time. A useful summary is given of the functions and activities of the several city departments and boards.

The Centralization of Administration in New York State. By John Archibald Fairlie, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 207. New York: Columbia University. \$1.

Public Administration in Massachusetts: The Relation of Central to Local Activity. By Robert Harvey Whitten, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 167. New York: Columbia University. \$1.

The series of "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," edited by the political science faculty of Columbia University, contains several valuable studies of American administration. The monograph devoted to Massachusetts is especially interesting because of the advanced position taken by that State in the matter of central regulation of gas and electric light works, street railways, and other quasi-public enterprises.

LITERATURE AND THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

Don Quixote de la Mancha. By Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Translated by Henry Edward Watts. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction by Joseph O'Connor. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 498-557. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In the series of "The World's Great Books," the admirable opening volumes of which we have already made note in a previous number of the REVIEW, there now appears in two volumes a very excellent edition of the great Spanish classic "Don Quixote de la Mancha" by Cervantes. The translation is by Henry Edward Watts. The introductory biographical essay on Cervantes is by Joseph O'Connor. The first volume has as its frontispiece a fine photogravure portrait of Cervantes from a painting by Velasquez. In the second volume the frontispiece is from Leslie's "Don Quixote."

Studies in American Literature: A Text-Book for Academies and High Schools. By Charles Noble.

12mo, pp. 404. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Professor Noble has prepared a book for schools that may well be read and studied by many who have passed far beyond their own school period. It combines in an ingenious way the concrete study of American literature with analyses of literary form and the elements of literary criticism. In a minor and incidental sense, the book is a cyclopaedia of American authors and a compend of literary information. Whatever may be its value for school purposes, it will certainly take its place as a useful manual for the general reader.

Choice Literature. Compiled and Arranged by Sherman Williams. Five vols., 12mo, pp. 144-190-256-336-506. New York: Sheldon & Co. \$1.75.

Mr. Sherman Williams, the well-known superintendent of schools at Glens Falls, N. Y., has prepared for use in primary, intermediate, and grammar grades an excellent series of selections "intended to create and foster a taste for good reading." It is believed that these books will enable the pupils who use them to complete the grammar-school course with a better acquaintance with English literature than most high-school graduates now have.

Stepping Stones to Literature. By Sarah Louise Arnold and Charles B. Gilbert. Fourth Reader, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Fifth Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Sixth Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Seventh Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Higher Grades, 12mo, pp. 333. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 60 cents each.

We have already commented on the earlier volumes of this series. The high standards adopted by the compilers in the beginning have been maintained throughout. The requirements of each grade in public-school work have been kept in view.

SCIENCE.

The Study of Man. By Alfred C. Haddon. 12mo, pp. 435. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

This new volume is not so formidable as its title might seem to imply. It is not a systematic book, but a republication of a number of popular excursions in anthropological fields. A great part of the volume has to do with the origin of children's toys and games. One chapter is on the origin of the Irish jaunting-car, and another on the evolution of the common cart. An elaborate chapter is given to a monographic study of the human nose; another of like character and value takes up historically and anthropologically the study of hair and eye color. Professor Haddon is an eminent scholar, and it is needless to say that these chapters have scientific value as well as human interest.

The Nature and Development of Animal Intelligence. By Wesley Mills. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

An able treatment of the subject of comparative psychology by the professor of physiology in M'Gill University, Montreal.



INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the July numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations see last page.

Address, Four Ways of Delivering, D. Matthews, Cos.
Agnos, Maria, Sketch of, M. J. Boyer, APS.
Aino-Land, In, Mabel Loomis Todd, CM.
Alden, Henry Mills, Mysticism of, W. N. Guthrie, SR.
American Evolution, J. K. Hosmer, AM.
American People in Fiction, Mary Bigot, BU, June.
Ammen, Daniel, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., G. E. Delknap, CasM.
Anarchy, Gospels of, "Vernon Lee," CR.
Androscoggin, Canoeing Down the, G. E. Browne, O.
Anglo-American Future, F. Greenwood, NC.
Animal Kingdom in Court, GBag.
Animal Pets, H. R. Francis, Bad.
Anthropology, Demands of Education on, Nina C. Vandewalker, AJS.
Anti-Jacobin: An Anniversary Study, W. B. Duffield, C.
Apostle Islands, S. S. Fifield, NatM.
Apostolical Succession: Latest Nonconformist Manifesto, LQ.
Arbitration Law, National, F. J. Stimson, IJE.
Architecture: Wrought Iron Ornamentation, W. M. Aiken, EngM.
Aristotle, Metaphysic of—IV., J. Watson, PRev.
Army and Navy Aid—I., Private Relief at the Front, R. H. Ayter, CRev.
Assimilation and Heredity, J. Loeb, Mon.
Auckland Islands, CJ.
Audobon: A Great Naturalist, Black.
Australian Federation: Some Constitutional Comparisons, J. W. Russell, NAR.
Austria: A Dissolving Empire, F. W. Hirst, FR.
Austria-Hungary Under Francis Joseph—I., A. von Schäffle, F.
Bacchylides, C. W. Bain, SR.
Banks, Government by, G. F. Williams, A.
Bank Returns: What They Teach, J. Hedley, CanM.
Barrett, Wilson, Margaret O'Grady, CanM.
Begbie, Sir Mathew Baillie, E. Nicolls, CanM.
Belgium, Current Art in, E. Verhaeren, MA.
Bellamy, Edward: Author and Economist, Catherine Pearson, Bkman.
Bergerac, Cyrano de, G. Smith, C.
Bergerac, Cyrano de, S. Young, NC.
Bismarck, Prince—I., E. Castellar, NAR.
Blind, Care and Training of, S. T. Swift, CW.
Bohemianism, Feminine—Is It a Failure? Emilie R. de Schell, A.
Boston, Gas Supply of—I., J. H. Gray, QEcon.
Boston, Slums in, H. K. Esterbrook, CRev.
Bovie, James, Passages from the Life of, Martha McCulloch-Williams, Harp.
Brent, Margaret, Neglected Record of the Life of, Caroline S. Bansemer, Harp.
Bridge Building, Modern, Marvels of, G. E. Walsh, G.
British Commerce, Protection of, in War Time, C. Beresford, CasM.
British Volunteers, Unreadiness of, L. Hale, NatR.
Bromwich Castle, Countess of Bradford, PMM.
Bronsart, Ingeborg Von, Elise Polko, Mus.
Burne-Jones, Sir Edward, R. de la Sizeranne, Art; RRL.
California Politics—I., Republican View, A. J. Pillsbury, OM.
Canada, Makers of, J. G. Bourinot, CanM.
Canada, Postage Stamps of, A. C. Caselman, CanM.
Canadian Railroad Policy, Early, S. J. McLean, QEcon, June.
Canals for Summer Cruises, E. W. Foster, O.
Cannon, Quaint and Curious, C. Field, LH.
Caroline Islands and Religious Liberty, Mish.
Carpenter, Ex-Gov., Silas C., J. P. Dolliver, MidM.
Carrier Pigeons in War Time, T. Dreiser, Dem.
Cartridge Factory, Scenes in, P. Dreiser, Cos.
Catherine, Saint, of Alexandria, Mary F. Nixon, CW.
Cats, Saber-Toothed, S. W. Williston, APS.
Champagne District of New York State, C. H. Warren, FR.
Chicago, Catholie Life of, Kathryn Prindiville, CW.
Children, Defective: Their Needs and Their Rights, M. W. Barr, IJE.
China, Great Britain's Future Policy in, A. Michie, NatR.
China, Partition of, J. van den Heuvel, RG, June.
Christianity, Feminine Ideal of, G. Matheson, BW.
Civil War, First Black Regiment in, T. W. Higginson, Out.
Civil War, Regulars in, R. F. Zogbaum, NAR.

Clowns and the Gentle Art of Clowning, A. W. Myers, CFM.
Coal-Mining Industry, Settlement in, J. E. George, QEcon.
Coal Supplies of the World, B. Taylor, NC.
Colonies, Evolution of—I., J. Collier, APS.
Commerce, Pioneers of, Black.
Consular Service, United States., S. M. White, F.
Cooper, Fenimore, Bit of Forgotten History by, G. P. Keese, Bkman.
Cornwall, Cycling Tour in, J. Hocking, YM.
Corrida, Ethics of, Lucia Purdy, Harp.
Cotton Industry, Remedy for Depression in, L. F. McKinney, F.
Cricket: Is It Degenerating? H. F. Abell, NatR.
Crime, J. H. Schooling, PMM.
Criminal: Is He Produced by Environment or Atavism? Isabel Ford, WR.
Cross, Forms and Signs of the—V., J. F. Hewitt, WR.
Crustacea, World of, T. R. Stebbing, K.
Cuba, the Price Spain has Paid for Her, F. L. Oswald, Chaut.
Cuban Insurrection, G. C. Musgrave, CR.
Cuban Settlers in America, D. A. Willey, Chaut.
Czar of Russia, Lillian Bell, LHJ.
Daudet, Alphonse, A. F. Davidson, Mac.
Dearborn, Fort, A MonM, June.
Death in the Woods and Fields, C. D. Wilson, Lipp.
Delaware, Bill of Rights of 1776, M. Farrand, AHR.
Dependents, Relief and Care of—V., H. A. Millis, AJS.
Devil's Island, A. Rossi, Chaut.
Diamonds, from the Rough to the Ring, F. Banfield, CFM.
Dreyfus Case, DeutR, June.
Doubouché, Mother Mary Teresa, E. le P. Renouf, M.
Dunkers of Pennsylvania, C. Howard, LHJ.
Dutch Painters, Modern, Elizabeth W. Champney, CM.
Eclipse: Lick Photographs of Corona, E. W. Maunder, K.
Economics—Why Not an Evolutionary Science? T. Veblen, QEcon.
Education, Bearings of Philosophy on, J. S. Mackenzie, IJE.
Education, Modern, E. Wilson, WR.
Education, Rural, in Great Britain, E. Verney, NC.
Egypt, British Rule in, Ralph Richardson, NAR.
Electricity on War Vessels, P. Severing, HM.
Electro-Chemistry, Recent Applications of, S. Cowper-Coles, EngM.
Elegy, Roman, W. P. Trent, SR.
Enghien, Due de, Execution of—I., S. B. Fay, AHR.
Engines, Non-Condensing, Economical Use of Steam in, J. B. Stanwood, EngM.
England and America, Unity of, J. Bryce, AM.
England, Industrial Dangers in, GMag.
England, War Lyrics of—I., L. Loeb, SR.
English Prison System, A. Griffiths, NAR.
Enoch, Book of, and New Testament, H. Hayman, BW.
Epistemology and Physical Science, A. H. Lloyd, PRev.
Equality, J. Bryce, CM.
Equivocation and Lying, J. Gerard, M.
Evolution, Philosophy of, C. L. Morgan, Mon.
Exmouth, Admiral, F. H. Pellew, USM.
Eye Language, L. Robinson, APS.
Faith, Through Art to, G. Tyrrell, M.
Farm Hand, from the Standpoint of the Farmer, G. R. Henderson, A.
Fee System, Colonial, Relation to Political Liberty, T. K. Urdahl, AAPs.
Fiction, Democracy of, Annie S. Winston, Lipp.
Fiction, Dreamland in, F. Foster, A.
Fireworks, The Making of, H. J. Pain, FR.
"Fleet in Being," P. H. Colomb, USM.
"Florida," Cruise of, G. T. Sinclair, CM.
Fortress Warfare, Influence of Railways on, E. H. M. Leggett, USM.
France, Country Banking in, BankL.
France, Military Terror in, L. J. Maxse, NatR.
France: Workmen's Compensation Act, W. F. Willoughby, QEcon.
Freiligrath, Ferdinand, as a Translator, Mrs. Freiligrath-Kroeker, Cosmop.
French Women in French Industry, Yetta B. de Bury, FR.
Friends, Society of, D. Gibbons, FR.
Furze, Henry M., Sculptor, A. H. P., Art.
Gardner, Col. Alexander, a Soldier of Fortune in the East, Black.

Gaul, Gilbert, Painter of Soldiers, Jeannette L. Gilder, Out. Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas, Origin of, F. J. Turner, AHR.

Geneva, "Escalade" of, Mrs. Bartle Teeling, CW.

Gerarde and the Gerardias, Martha B. Flint, APS.

German Drama, Evolution of—II., E. von Wildenbruch, F.

Gideon's Battle, D. Bronson, NatM.

Girl Chorister, The, Mabel C. Craft, NatM.

Gissing, George: A Novelist of the Hour, G. White, SR.

Gladstone, William Ewart, AMRR; AM; Black; Chaut; Cr; Cosmop; F; FR; WR.

A Note on, H. T. Peck, Bkman.

An Autumn Morning With, J. M. Chapple, NatM.

And Nonconformists, G. Rogers, NC.

And the Roman Catholic Church, W. Meynell, NC.

As a Religious Teacher, LQ.

At a Country House With, Mrs. Oldfield, Long.

In Parliament, 1888-94, R. Temple, DeutR, June.

Some Stray Letters of, H. St. J. Raikes, FR.

Glendalough, Seven Churches of, Hattie W. Ashby, MidM.

Glinka, Michel Ivanovitch—Father of Russian Music, A. Pougin, Mus.

Gnosticism and Christianity, P. Carus, Mon.

God, Indwelling, LQ.

God in Science and Religion, G. J. Low, Mon.

Godkin, E. L., and the New Political Economy, H. S. Green, A.

Gold, Increasing Circulation of, A. E. Outerbridge, Jr., BankNY.

Gold: Cyanide Process as Applied on the Rand, W. L. Holmes, EngM.

Golf's Active Season, F. W. Crane, G.

Golf, Ladies', Louie Mackern and E. M. Boys, Bad.

Golf, Special Attraction of, Black.

Goorkha Soldier, Major Pearce, Mac.

Gorse Plant, G. Allen, Str.

Government Notes: see Greenbacks.

Government, Popular, H. L. Nelson, Harp.

Grammar, English Historical, M. H. Liddell, AM.

Grant, Gen. U. S., and His Mississippi Valley Campaign, J. W. Emerson, MidM.

Grant, Gen. U. S., at Vicksburg, F. D. Grant, Out.

Grasses and Herbage, American, W. C. Forbush, JMSI.

Great Britain, Critical Position of, W. R. Deykin, WR.

Great Britain, Russian Comment on War Power of, N. Shishikoff, NC.

Great Britain, Sea Power of, T. A. Brassey, FR.

Great Britain: Women's Factory Department, Mrs. H. J. Tennant, FR.

Greater New York's Water Supply, F. B. Thurber, NAR.

Greece: Relations of England, France, and Russia to, C. Dilke, Cosmop.

Greek and Roman Proper Names, English Pronunciation of, G. Hempel, SRev, June.

Greenbacks Versus Bank Notes, A. I. Fonda, A.

Guerin School of Art at Paris, H. Frantz, MA.

Gun Steel, Magnetic Qualities of, G. O. Squier, JMSI.

Guns: How They Are Made, F. Heath, Jr., G.

Guns in Action, CFM.

Harp, F. Crissey, Chaut.

Havana, England's Capture of, 1762, Lieutenant-Colonel Adye, NC.

Havana in 1870, F. T. Bullen, C.

Hawaii, People of, H. S. Townsend, F.

Hearing, Preservation of, W. B. Dalby, Long.

"Hebbeck of Bannisdale," by Mrs. Humphry Ward, J. Rickaby, M.

Heredity as a Social Force, T. H. S. Escott, FR.

Heretics, Punishment of, Canon Wood, NC.

Hobson, Lieut. Richmond Pearson, W. H. Ward, AMRR.

Holland, Queen of, Charlotte F. Smith, YW.

House of Representatives, Reconquest of the, J. C. Ridpath, A.

Howard, John, Elizabeth Gilman, CRev.

Hull House, Chicago, Florence Kelley, NEM.

Hunt, Leigh, New Letters by, Ethel A. Ireland, AM.

Hunt, William, W. Collingwood, MA.

Illinois Central Railroad, Charter Tax of, W. H. Allen, JPEcon, June.

India and England, E. Pratt, WR.

India in Deep Waters, R. H. Elliot, Nat R.

India, Railways of, J. W. Parry, EngM.

Indian Superstitions and Legends, S. Pokagon, F.

Indiana's Monetary Commission, Report of, F. M. Paylor, JPEcon, June.

Ingelow, Jean, Poems of, A. Lang, Long.

Insurance, Early, Curiosities of, C.J.

Ireland: Centenary of, 1798, RRL.

Irish Bards, Ancient, Norah M. Holland, CanM.

Irish Land Acts, A. Traill, NatR.

Irish Legislation, LQ.

Isles of Shoals, The Story of, A. W. Moore, NEM.

Italy, The Vogue in, G. D. Vecchia, CR.

Japan, Future Position of, Among the Great Powers, C. Pounds, USM.

Japanese Causes Celebres, J. H. Wigmore, GBag.

Java, The Dutch in—IV., J. Chailleley-Bert, Cosmop.

Jesus, Autobiography of, B. W. Bacon, AJT.

Jones, John Paul, in the Revolution, Capt. A. T. Mahan, Scrib.

Journalism, Notes on, G. W. Smalley, Harp.

Kentucky, Mountain Region of—A Retarded Frontier, J. E. Vincent, AJS.

Kingdom of God, Meaning of (Symposium), BW.

Laborer, Evolution of, Rousier's, Katharine Felton, JPEcon, June.

Laborers in the United States, Condition of, H. Clément, Refs, June 16.

Lapland, Bear Shooting in, C. Hyne, Bad.

Latin, Roman Pronunciation of, W. G. Hale, SRev, June.

Laughter, Psychological Cause of, M. Camille Mellinand, APS.

Leather Ornamentation, L. Miller, AJ.

Lee, Fitz Hugh, Life and Public Services of, Ella L. McCreary, MidM.

Leo XIII., Policy and Diplomacy of, G. M. Flamingo, DeutR, June.

Leopardi, Giacomo, W. K. Johnson, FR.

Letter-Writing, Art of, H. Paul, NC.

Life, Evaluation of, W. G. Everett, PRev.

Life, Modern, Studies of, E. Bricon, Cosmop.

Limpopo, Loafing on the, O. E. von Ernsthausen, Bad.

Lind, Jenny, J. Mahly, DeutR, June.

Literature, Pagan, of the Second Christian Century, J. Reinhard, SR.

Lobachevsky, G. B. Halsted, OC.

Logging in Summer, A. Hendricks, Lipp.

London, Ancient Customs of, J. DeMorgan, GBag.

London, Girl-Workers of, YW.

London, Ideal, F. Harrison, CR.

Longmeadow, Mass., Two Centuries and a Half In, Julia M. Bliss, NEM.

Lowell, James Russell, and His Friend, E. E. Hale, Out.

Machinery—Does It Displace Labor? C. W. Davis, F.

McKinley, William, President of the United States in War Times, McCl.

McKinley, William, President of the United States, Anecdotal Side of, LHJ.

Madrid, Life in, C. Edwards, CJ.

Maeterlinck, Maurice, Mysticism of, W. N. Guthrie, SR.

"Maine," Truth About the, H. W. Wilson, NatR.

Manila and the Philippines, I. M. Elliott, Scrib.

Manila, Departure of Troops from San Francisco for, Frances Stuart, OM.

Manila, Life in, C. B. Howard, FRL.

Manual Training, Philosophy of—II., C. H. Henderson, APS.

Marriages, Unhappy, of Noted Persons, Frances A. Doughty, CW.

Mecklenburg, M. Todhunter, WR.

Medicines, Patent, Facts About Making, A. C. Cantley, Chaut.

Methodism, Side Lights on, LQ.

Mexico, Our Sister Republic, Carmen Harcourt, MidM.

Mica Country (Blue Ridge Mountains), J. M. VanDyke, G.

Mills Hotel: A Paying Philanthropy, T. A. Hyde, A.

Missionary, Foreign, Equipment of a, G. W. Gilmore, AJT.

Missionary, Medical, Adventures of a, C. Wenyon, P. L. Parker, YM.

Mushrooms, Edible and Poison, G. McCarthy, Chaut.

Monism and Pluralism, C. M. Bakewell, PRev.

Musical Life, Humors of, Maude V. White, C.

Music on the Streets, H. H. Statham, NatR.

Napoleon Bonaparte, Autobiography of, Cos.

Napoleon and Josephine at Bayonne, H. James, Mac.

Natural Bridge of Virginia, B. Torrey, AM.

Naval Accidents, G. E. Walsh, Chaut.

Navy, The United States, in the Revolution, J. A. Greer, Florence M. Gheen, AMonM, June.

New England Schoolmistress, Recollections of, J. R. Gilmore, NEM.

Newman, Cardinal, Personal Recollections of, CW.

New Orleans, Christmas in, Julia T. Bishop, LHJ.

Newport: The Isle of Ease, F. Furbush, NatM.

Newsboys' Association, Mary W. Brown, CRev.

Nicaragua Canal, BankNY.

Nicaragua Canal, BMag.

Nicaragua Canal, How and by Whom It Should be Built, L. M. Haupt, EngM.

Nightingale, Florence, Susan E. Dickinson, HM.

Nurses, Women, for the Battlefield, M. W. Mount, Dem.

Ocean, The Study of, J. Thoulet, Chaut.

Ohio a Hundred Years Ago, Elizabeth Lattimer, Lipp.

Old Catholic Movement, W. Beyschlag, AJT.

Oliphant, Mrs., and "Mag" on the Thames, LH.

Opium Commission, British, Report of, A. Foster, CR.

Orcady, Road in, D. J. Robertson, Long.

Paris Salons, M. H. Spielmann, MA.

Paris Salons, C. Phillips, NC.

Paris Salons, Walk Through, H. F., Art.

Patti, Adelina, J. Mahly, DeutR, June.

Peary, Lieut. R. E., Last Greenland Expedition of, G. H. Barton, NatM.

Persius, a Roman Puritan, F. F. Abbott, NEM.

Perugini, Charles Edward, M. H. Spielmann, MA.
 Petroleum Industry, G. T. Holloway, K.
 Philippine Islands, Chaut; F; NatGM, June; see also Manila.
 And Spain, J. Forman, CR.
 Commerce of, J. Hyde, NatGM, June.
 Disposition of, C. E. Howe, NatGM, June.
 Philippine Islanders, Lucy M. J. Garnett, FR.
 Philippine Tribes, Primitive, D. C. Worcester, NatGM, June.
 Phillip, King, Country of, W. A. Slade, NEM.
 Philosophy and the Activity-Experience, W. Caldwell, IJE.
 Phosphorescence, Fires of Ocean, G. C. Nuttall, K.
 Photography, Film, T. C. Hepworth, CJ.
 Piano Pupils, Preliminary Training of, C. Faelten, Mus.
 Pisanello, Vittore, of Verona, E. Müntz, AJ.
 Piracy, International, in Time of War, W. L. Penfield, NAR.
 Pluralism and Monism, C. M. Bakewell, PRev.
 Poetry, American, Some Elements in, Caroline M. Sheldon, MidM.
 Poetry: The Seventh Muse, J. O. Austin, CW.
 Politics, Oscillations in, A. L. Lowell, AAPs.
 Polo, Recent Development of, T. F. Dale, Bad.
 Porto Arthur, W. Blakeney, USM.
 Porto Rico, E. Emerson, Jr., AMRR.
 Postage Stamp Designs, G. Dollar, Str.
 Postmen of the World, T. Lake, Str.
 Prayer: Who Can Tell What It Is? Mrs. F. H. Boalt, A.
 Prison-Ships of the Revolution, Mary R. Winn, AMonM, June.
 Privateers, G. E. Walsh, Lipp.
 Progress, Great Man Theory of, LQ.
 Prophets, Old Testament, as Social Reformers, G. Stibitz, BW.
 Psychical Research, B. O. Flower, A.
 Puseyism, Influence of, Within the Church of England, LQ.
 Queensland, Flower-Hunter in, LQ.
 Railway Travel in America, Comfort in, A. Sinclair, PMM.
 Ram in Modern War Fleets, W. L. Cathcart, CasM.
 Randolph, John, of Roanoke, Susan P. Lee, GBag.
 Remenyi, Edouard: Last Appearance in Boston, J. L. Mathews, Mus.
 Rent, Price-Determining, A. M. Hyde, JPEcon, June.
 Revolution, Story of, H. C. Lodge, Scrib.
 Revolution, War-Songs of, H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Ritualism, Development of, H. C. Corrane, CR.
 Ritualism in the Church of England, H. H. Henson, NatR.
 Riviera, Italian, Fly-Fishing on, A. Herbert, Bad.
 Rocky Mountains, F. G. Walker, Geraldine Vane, YW.
 Rodin, Auguste, C. Quentin, AJ.
 Romney, George, J. C. Van Dyke, CM.
 Roosevelt's Rough Riders, W. F. Cody, NatM.
 Royal Academy Exhibition, MA.
 Russia, Imperial Bank of, P. Bark, BankNY.
 Russian Army, O. Kuylenstierna, USM.
 Russian Jews in America, A. Cahan, AM.
 St. Andrew's Golf Club of America, R. A. Reid, O.
 Salamanca, Wellington at, W. H. Fitchett, C.
 Salmon of the Southwest, F. H. Ristene, O.
 San Antonio, Texas, C. T. Logan, FrL.
 San José Scale, International Relations Disturbed by, L. O. Howard, F.
 Schools, Secondary, Courses of Study for, G. B. Aiton, SRev, June.
 Science, Superstitions of, L. N. Tolstoi, A.
 Scotland, Reformation in, A. Lang, Mac.
 Scotland, Widows' Funds in, BankL.
 Seal, Great, of England, GBag.
 Sea Power at the End of the Nineteenth Century, W. L. Clowes, EngM.
 Senate of United States: Its Origin, Personnel, and Organization, W. A. Peffer, NAR.
 Seville, Holy Week in, S. Bonsal, CM.
 Sewage Disposal, Dilution Process of, R. Hering, EngM.
 Seward, W. H.: Ideas of Territorial Expansion, F. Bancroft, NAR.
 Shakespeare, William, Attorney-at-Law, B. F. Washer, GBag.
 Ship, Type of, J. H. Burton, USM.
 Siberia, Eastern, S. Bonsal, Harp.
 Siberia: Its Railways and Waterways, LH.
 Sicily, Picturesque, LQ.
 Sidgwick and Schopenhauer, On the Foundation of Morality, M. Macmillan, IJE.
 Sienkiewicz, Henrik, J. Curtin, CM.
 Signaling in War Time, G. J. Varney, Lipp.
 Sincerity, Brothers of, T. Davidson, IJE.
 Singing, W. J. Baltzell, Mus.
 Smith College, Undergraduate Life at, Alice K. Fallows, Scrib.
 Social Groups, Persistence of—Woman Free, G. Simmel, AJS.
 Social Problem, P. Topinard, Mon.
 Sociology and Philanthropy, F. H. Wines, AAPs.
 Sociology, Study, and Teaching of, S. M. Lindsay, AAPs.
 Soldier in Camp, Care of, H. S. T. Harris, JMSL.
 Solomonic Literature, M. D. Conway, OC.
 Somers, Richard, American Naval Hero, W. L. Calver, HM.
 Soudan, Western, Civilization in, C. H. Robinson, NC.

Soul's Pilgrimage: Extracts from an Autobiography, C. F. B. Miel, AM.
 South in Literature, C. A. Smith, SR.
 Spain, G. Delaveux, RG, June; DeutR, June.
 Collapse of, J. H. Bridge, OM.
 Decadence of, H. C. Lea, AM.
 Resources and Industries of, E. B. Jones, NAR.
 Spanish Dollar and Colonial Shilling, W. G. Sumner, AHR.
 Spanish People, C. Edwards, Mac.
 Sport's Place in Nation's Well-Being, P. Collier, O.
 Stars, Census of, E. W. Maunder, LH.
 Statistics, Eccentric—IV., H. L. Bliss, AJS.
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, New Letters by, Ethel A. Ireland, AM.
 Stewart, Charles, Admiral U. S. N., E. S. Ellis, Chaut.
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, W. A. Guerry, SR.
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, "Life and Letters," LQ.
 Street-Cleaning in Europe, GMag.
 Submarine Boats: the "Argonaut," H. Hale, Str.
 Sugar, Cheap, and Free Trade, C. S. Parker, FR.
 Supernatural, L. Abbott, Out.
 Swiss Life and Scenery, E. Fannie Jones, CanM.
 "Tallahassee," Dash Into New York Waters, J. T. Wood, CM.
 Taxation, Income, D. A. Wells, APS.
 Tennis, Laws of, E. H. Johnstone, Bad.
 Tennis Players, Famous, CFM.
 Theater and the State, H. Irving, FR.
 Thibet, First Christian Missionaries in, P. Carus, OC.
 Tokio, In Darkest, CJ.
 Torpedo Attacks, R. C. Smith, CasM.
 Torpedo-Boat Designs, H. G. Gillmor, CasM.
 Torpedo-Boat Design, Steam Yacht as a Factor in, W. P. Stephens, EngM.
 Torpedoes, Aérial, H. Maxim, CasM.
 Torpedoes, Aérial, Engineering Problem of, H. Maxim, Cos.
 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, H. W. Lanier, AMRR.
 Travelling Libraries in Alabama, Kate H. Morrisette, SR.
 Trusts, Recent Legislation and Adjudication, J. W. Jenks, JQEcon.
 "Turbinia," Fastest Vessel Afloat, C. Moffett, McCl.
 Turpentine Farm, Negro Life on, J. C. Wooten, GMag.
 Tuskegee and Its Founder, GMag.
 United States and Great Britain: Is There an Anglo-American Understanding? "Diplomatics," FR.
 United States as a Colonial Power, F. P. Powers, Lipp.
 Fighting Strength of, F. W. Hewes, McCl.
 Government in War Time, René Bache, Cos.
 Records of, Adelaide R. Hasse, F.
 Revisited in War Time, H. Norman, McCl.
 Senate, W. E. Mason, MM.
 Utah, Eight-Hour Law, and the United States Supreme Court, Florence Kelley, AJ.
 Van Beers, Jan, Marie A. Belloc, Str.
 Vatican Manuscript, Visit to, G. E. Merrill, BW.
 Victoria, Queen, Jubilee of, June, 1897, Military and Naval Display at, N. A. Miles, McCl.
 Violins and Girls, H. R. Haweis, CR.
 "Virginius," Story of, R. H. Lovell, OM.
 Wagner Mania, J. C. Hadden, NC.
 War With Spain: BU, June; OM; RDM, June 1.
 A Day at Chickamauga, F. Lind, NatM.
 Argument With Guns, F. Parsons, A.
 Can We Stand Victory? GMag.
 Expedition of the "Gussie," S. Bonsal, McCl.
 First Shot—First Bombardment, R. H. Davis, Scrib.
 Iowa Soldiers at Jacksonville, MidM.
 Management of the War with Spain, E. C. Williams, Chaut.
 Mexico's Attitude in, L. D. Kocen, WR.
 Our Fighting Navy, R. R. Wilson, MM.
 Our New War Taxes, M. West, AMRR.
 Significance of the War, J. A. Ewan, CanM.
 Spain in Military Mood, S. Samosch, Cosmop.
 Spanish-American Naval War, D. Livonius, P. H. Colom, DeutR, June.
 Story of the War, T. Waters, HM.
 Success of the War Loan, BankNY.
 Victory, Prizes of, MM.
 War Correspondent, E. B. Hastings, NatM.
 With the American Army, I. Bacheller, Cos.
 War and Money: Some Lessons of 1862, J. L. Laughlin, AM.
 Warfare, Ethics of Modern, S. J. Barrows, F.
 Warships, American, Power Transmission on, G. W. Dickie, CasM.
 Warship Building in Great Britain and France, N. Barnaby, CasM.
 Watts, George F., Religion of His Pictures, W. Richmond, CR.
 Weather Forecasts, E. J. Prindle, APS.
 Wei-Hai-Wei, R. S. Yorke, FR.
 West, Middle, New Era in, C. M. Harger, Harp.
 Westminster, Seventy Years at, J. B. Mowbray, Black.
 Wheat in California, H. Davis, OM.
 Wheat, Question of—III., Russia, W. C. Ford, APS.
 White House, Public Receptions at, Elizabeth A. Banks, CFM.
 Wilhelm II., Emperor of Germany, Ten Years of, P. Bigelow, CM.

Wilhelm II., Emperor of Germany, C. F. Dewey, Cos.
 Wilhelm II. As Art Patron, H. Eckford, CM.
 Windsor Castle, Arms and Armor at, F. S. Robinson, M.A.
 Wiseman, Cardinal, Personal Recollections of, CW.
 Women in English Local Administration, "Ignota," WR.
 Women in Journalism, Anne O'Hagan, MM.
 Women Painters, Noted, Hélène Postlethwaite, MA.

Woman Physician in Fiction, Black.
 Woman Who Wants to Be a Man, Eugenie Uhrlrich, Mid.M.
 Woodpeckers and Their Ways, W. E. Cram, APS.
 Words, Making of, B. Matthews, Harp.
 Workers, W. A. Wyckoff, Scrib.
 Workmen's Gardens in the United States, L. Rivière, RefS,
 June 16.
 Zola's "Paris," S. H. Swiny, WR.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AP.	American Amateur Photographer, N. Y.	DeutR.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NatR.	National Review, London.
EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NEM.	New England Magazine, Boston.
EngM.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NW.	New World, Boston.
FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
F.	Forum, N. Y.	F.	Forum, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	NR.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
G.	Godey's, N. Y.	G.	Godey's, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
GMag.	Gunton's Magazine, N. Y.	GMag.	Gunton's Magazine, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	OM.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
H.M.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	H.M.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	Prev.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PA.	Photo-American, N. Y.
IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	QEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	RN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Kind.	Kindergarten, Chicago.	Kind.	Kindergarten, Chicago.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
K.	Knowledge, London.	K.	Knowledge, London.	RP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
LH.	Leisure Hour, London.	LH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RE.	Revue Encyclopédique, Paris.
Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RG.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RS.	Revue Scientifique, Paris.
McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	R.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	SRev.	School Review, Chicago.
Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Scots.	Scots Magazine, Perth.
MidM.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	MidM.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Swannee, Tenn.
MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	USM.	United Service Magazine London.
M.	Month, London.	M.	Month, London.	WR.	Westminster Review, London.
MM.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	MM.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WM.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Mus.	Music, Chicago.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	YR.	Yale Review, New Haven.
				YM.	Young Man, London.
				YM.	Young Woman, London.



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CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1898.

M. Jules Cambon.....	Frontispiece		
The Progress of the World—			
Modern Wars Are Brief and Decisive.....	243	William R. Day: A New Statesman of the First Rank.....	275
Even Spain Knew When to Cry "Enough!".....	243	With portraits of Hon. William R. Day, Stephen Day, Luther Day, William L. Day, Rufus Day, and Mrs. William R. Day.	
Opening Peace Negotiations.....	244		
The Protocol of August 12.....	244		
Peace Proclaimed.....	245		
The Surrender of Manila.....	245	By Henry Macfarland.	
Augusti and the Germans.....	246		
Importance of the Victory of the 13th.....	246		
Dewey as the Hero of the War.....	247		
A Possible Naval Postscript.....	247	The Occupation of Porto Rico.....	281
Later Manila Reports.....	248	With portraits of Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, General Macias, Capt. F. J. Higgins, Maj.-Gen. James H. Wilson, Brig.-Gen. Oswald H. Ernst, a map of Porto Rico, and other illustrations.	
The Primary Object of the War Attained.....	248		
Evacuating the West Indies.....	248		
An Unparalleled Episode.....	249	Prince Bismarck: An Anecdotal Character Sketch.....	291
Our New Responsibilities in Cuba.....	250	With portraits of the late Prince Otto von Bismarck, Prince Herbert Bismarck, Louise Wilhelmina Menken, Princess Bismarck, and other illustrations.	
Garcia and the Insurgent Attitude.....	250		
The Cuban and Porto Rican Commissions.....	251	The Greatness of Bismarck.....	309
Technically, We Annex Cuba.....	252	By W. T. Stead.	
Morally, We Are Trustees, Not Owners.....	252		
Five Facts.....	253	Cost and Finances of the Spanish War.....	314
Our New Island Possession.....	253	By Charles A. Conant.	
Our Tenure in the Philippines.....	254		
Dewey Versus the Protocol.....	254	Leading Articles of the Month—	
A Strictly American Question.....	254		
Spain's Easy Escape.....	255	How the Crew of a Warship Lives.....	321
Madrid Cannot Afford to Quibble.....	255	The Reporting of War News.....	322
Ecclesiastical Issues.....	256	How it Feels to be Shot by a Mauser.....	323
Spain's Money-Making Proclivities.....	256	Spanish Bravery at Caney.....	325
Spain's National Outlook.....	257	The Collapse of Spain.....	325
The Paris Commission.....	258	The Spanish Navy—Not Up to Date.....	327
Judge Day and Colonel Hay.....	258	The Financial Outlook in Spain.....	327
England and the Nicaragua Canal.....	258	Free Cuba and Sugar.....	329
The Canadian-American Commission.....	259	The Spanish War and the Equilibrium of the World.....	330
Our Invalid Army.....	259	The Philippines—Their Past and Their Future.....	332
The Fever-Infected Camps.....	260	A Japanese View of Our Presence in the Philippines.....	332
Who Is Responsible?.....	260	The English-Speaking Brotherhood.....	334
Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	261	Terms of an Anglo-American Alliance.....	336
A Welcome to the Fleet.....	261	The Trans-Siberian Railway.....	337
Future of the Army.....	261	Russia as a World Power.....	337
The Saratoga Conference.....	261	England's Future in China.....	338
The Death of Bismarck.....	262	Education at West Point and Annapolis.....	339
England and Russia.....	262	Athletic Sports in Japan.....	341
Imperial Penny Postage.....	263	New Trials for Old Favorites.....	341
Anti-Vaccination in England.....	264	An English Criticism of American Poetry.....	342
Some Obituary Notes.....	264	Bridal Greetings from Thomas Carlyle.....	343
With portraits of Lieut. Thomas B. Brumby, General Augusti and family, General Toral, Señor Montoro, Capt. D. Eugenio Vallarino, Admiral Schley, Gen. Shafter, General Merritt, General Brooke, Admiral Sampson, Gen. M. C. Butler, Gen. Gonzales Parrado, Col. John Hay, Lord Herschell, Senator Fairbanks, the Right Hon. George N. Curzon, Dr. William Pepper, and other illustrations.		The Menace of the Graveyard.....	344
Record of Current Events.....	265	Have Plants Brain-Power?.....	345
With portraits of Lieut.-Gen. Arsenio Linares, Brig.-Gen. S. B. M. Young, Capt. Henry Glass, Lord Minto, the late Dr. James Hall, the late Rear Admiral Wm. A. Kirkland, the late Dr. L. von Dittel, the late Georg Moritz Ebers, and the late Dr. Aveling.		The Real Don Quixote.....	345
Cartoons Apropos of the End of the War.....	269	Bismarck's Character.....	346
The Periodicals Reviewed.....			
The New Books.....			
Index to Periodicals.....			

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M. JULES CAMBON, FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON.
(Who signed the peace protocol on behalf of Spain.)